

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE**

**PART 7 OF 25**

**FILE NUMBER : 100-11392**

SUBJECT; AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

FILE #: 100-11392

SECTION: 7

175 pages

May 12, 1956

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I would like some information regarding the organization, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. Are they listed as a subversive organization by your department? Are they listed as a subversive organization, that is not exempt from tax deductions as a charitable institution, by the U.S. Treasury Department?

My reason for asking this information is this: Our Yearly Meeting, Oregon Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church, severed all connections with the A.F.S.C. in 1954. They have had me on their mailing list, and I requested that my name be dropped because of the action of the Yearly Meeting and the action that I had heard was taken by the Treasury Department. Can you verify my misgivings about the Organization?

Sincerely,

217

May 21, 1956

Dear

Your letter dated May 12, 1956, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to point out also that this Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency and does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I know that you will understand the reasons for these rules and will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have the information you desire.

Since your communication is of interest to another governmental agency, I am taking the liberty of referring a copy of it to The Honorable, The Secretary of the Treasury, Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Copy of incoming sent by form to Secretary of the Treasury.  
NOTE: Bufile [REDACTED] reflects that American Friends Service Committee has opposed military conflict, preparedness and drafting of men since its formation in 1917. It is very active in local and foreign relief. During World War II, it assisted Conscientious Objectors, and in cooperation with the U. S. Government, aided in reallocating Japanese from the West Coast.

~~SECRET~~ POUCH  
PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL  
(Security Classification)

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

032 741/4  
INDEXED  
Jean/4-16

FROM : Consulate, LUANDA, ANGOLA

180  
DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

RECEIVED FROM

April 16, 1956  
DATE

REF :

MAY 15 1956

STATE DEPT OHB

For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	REC'D	IN F O
17	NEA-4	Rmk-1 PPT-2 SCS-2 P-1 0616 54-2
	5/9	USIA-10 Cin-6

SUBJECT: Request for Information on Jean FAIRPAX

Miss Jean FAIRPAX recently visited Angola in connection with a tour that making, purportedly as a representative of the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Consulate would appreciate being informed whether she is in fact employed by the American Friends Service Committee; whether her travel is of a private or business nature; and whether the Department has any information on file regarding her.

It is assumed that the American Friends Service Committee is the Quaker organization and that it is not a front agency. The Consulate would also appreciate learning whether this assumption is correct.

Albert A. Rabida  
American Consul

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 11 1956
OFFICE OF SECURITY
NOT TO BE FILED W/O INITIALS

INDEXED-88

100-11392-218  
NOT RECORDED

EX-12014 MAY 22 1956

7-18  
58 MAY 29 1956

ARabida:im  
REPORTER

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION COPY

Retain in divisional files or destroy in accordance with security regulations.



CONFIDENTIAL

2030

INDEXED

83  
ORIGIN  
NEA  
INFO  
OLI  
P  
BY  
SEV

No. A-18 May 18, 1956

SUBJECT: Information on Miss Jean Fairfax

CIA  
USIA

TO: The American Consulate LUANDA, ANGOLA

Ref: Your Despatch 180.

RECEIVED FROM

MAY 23 1956

STATE DEPT OHB

The Department confirms that Miss Jean Fairfax has been employed by the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee, Cambridge, Mass., but is now on a leave of absence and is travelling in Africa at her own expense.

The American Friends Service Committee, which is the Quaker organization and not a front agency, informed the Department that it very much hopes to reinstate Miss Fairfax upon her return from her current tour and has already offered her a choice of three different positions. The organization regards Miss Fairfax as a mature, experienced worker for whom they have high respect and in whom they have much confidence. Miss Fairfax had previously represented the Service Committee in field work in both Austria and Israel.

DULLES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE		
MAY 21 1956		
OFFICE OF SECURITY		
NOT TO BE FILED W/O INITIALS		

INDEXED - 25

EX-109

100-11392-21

NOT RECORDED

17 MAY 24 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFTED BY: 58 JUN 1 1956 5/17/56  
NEA/P

APPROVED BY:

NEA/P - Edwin M. J. Kretzman

CLEARANCES:

AF - Mr. Dumont

SEV - Mr. Seamans

file  
5-11-56

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI [REDACTED] DATE: 5/31/56

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMINFIL AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE

THUMBNAIL SKETCHES ON  
SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The following information is being submitted in order to bring up to date the thumbnail sketch previously submitted on the American Friends Service Committee:

Confidential Informant T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is familiar with some of the activities of the CP and CP front groups in the Philadelphia area, as well as the policies and activities of the American Friends Service Committee, advised on 11/10/55 that, to his knowledge, there have been no attempts by the CP to infiltrate the American Friends Service Committee.

220

SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

June 27, 1956

[REDACTED]  
Director, FBI [REDACTED]

COMINFIL AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]

Reurlet 5-31-56 submitting a thumbnail  
sketch of captioned organization.

In view of the nature of this organization  
and the lack of information indicating Communist Party  
infiltration, it should not be documented in reports.  
In view of the above, the thumbnail sketch of this  
organization is being cancelled. If, in the future,  
the Communist Party is successful in infiltrating  
this committee, the Bureau should be immediately  
advised and a revised thumbnail sketch submitted.



AMERICAN UNITED SERVICE COMMITTEE (AUSC)

The AUSC, with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has stated that its purposes are to relieve human suffering wherever it is found and to ease tension between individual groups or nations. It maintains relief agencies throughout the world, including those countries under communist control. The AUSC is reportedly a sincere pacifist group and has been since its inception in 1917. There is no information available indicating that this organization has been engaged in any communist activities or is infiltrated by the Communist Party. [REDACTED]

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] DATE: 6-14-56

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA [REDACTED] ATTENTION: CENTRAL RESEARCH DIVISION

SUBJECT: COMINFIL  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]VISIT OF AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE  
COMMITTEE TO U.S.S.R., 1955  
[REDACTED]

On May 29, 1956, Confidential Informant [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA [REDACTED] with the enclosed 94-page booklet entitled "Meeting the Russians" which informant had received on that date from the Information Service of the American Friends Service Committee.

This booklet is a report prepared by the six-man delegation of the American Friends Service Committee which visited the U.S.S.R. in June, 1955. It is being distributed by the Information Service of the American Friends Service Committee.

This booklet is being forwarded to the Bureau for review and if the Bureau does not desire to retain the booklet, it should be returned to Philadelphia for inclusion in the American Friends Service Committee file.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: July 2 1956

FROM : *WFT*  
William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security DivisionSUBJECT: Communist Infiltration of the  
American Friends Service Committee

A review of the investigative reports furnished by the Bureau concerning the captioned organization indicates that, irrespective of the availability of informants, there is not sufficient evidence at this time to justify the filing of a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board to require it to register as a Communist-front organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

The file on this organization will be re-examined as additional information is furnished relevant to the applicable definition and criteria under the Act.

RECORDED-85

24 JUL 8 1956

68 JUL 11 1956

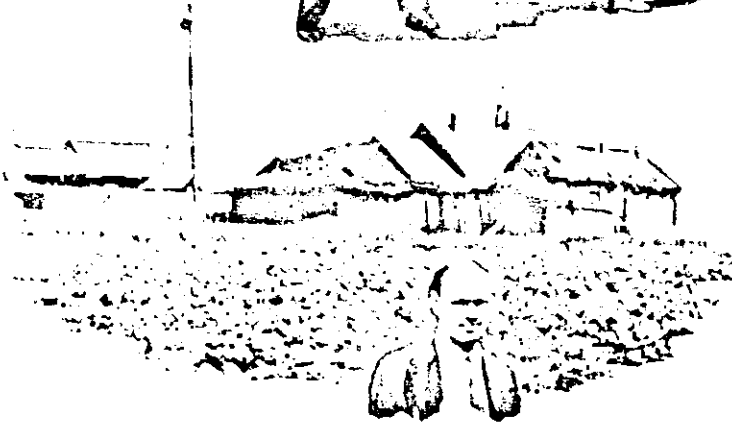
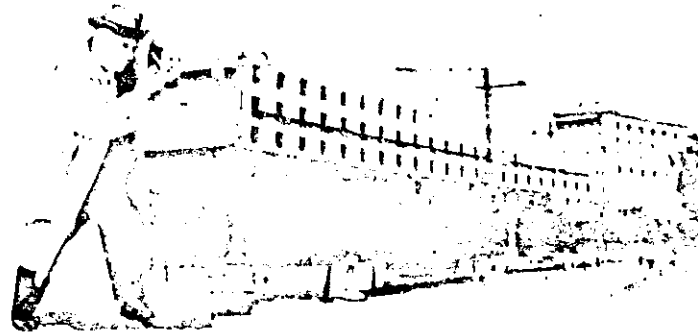
EXP-PROC

# Meeting the Russians

*General Secretary Nikita  
Khrushchev Visits  
the Soviet Union*



Wroe Alderson photographs Kiev apartment building, part of widespread construction. Camera delivers immediate prints, and was a real icebreaker.



Stephen Cary looks over a Russian farm with thatched huts. Farm labor is often used wastefully. Lack of machinery. Two-thirds of the Russian people are rural.

Hugh W. Moore and Pastor Orlov of 3000-member Leningrad Baptist church chat by Astoria Hotel. A main purpose of visit was religious fellowship.



Cover: Clarence E. Pickett meets Orthodox churchmen at Zagorsk Seminary. Inset: St. Sophia Cathedral, Kiev.

*Six American Quakers traveled 12,000 miles in the Soviet Union in June, 1955. Since their return they have traveled even greater distances to speak in hundreds of meetings and by radio and television about what they learned. This written report, in answer to a demand for a fuller account, reveals that recent developments in the Soviet Union tend to bear out their personal observations.*

# MEETING THE RUSSIANS

*American Quakers Visit  
the Soviet Union*



A Report Prepared by the Delegation

~~WROE ALDERSON~~

~~STEPHEN G. CARY~~

~~WILLIAM R. EDGERTON~~

~~HUGH W. MOORE~~

~~CLARENCE B. PICKETT~~

~~ELEANOR ZELLIOT~~

American Friends Service Committee

PHILADELPHIA

1956

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

INTRODUCTION: THE SOVIET SCENE IN FOCUS . . . . .	5
I. A NEW CHAPTER IN AN OLD STORY . . . . .	15
II. SOVIET MAN AND SOVIET SOCIETY . . . . .	22
III. SOVIET CITY LIGHTS . . . . .	28
IV. MAIN STREET, U.S.S.R. . . . .	41
V. DOWN ON THE FARM . . . . .	46
VI. THE SOVIET FRONTIER . . . . .	51
VII. SOVIET EDUCATION AND CULTURE . . . . .	58
VIII. RELIGION IN AN ANTI-RELIGIOUS STATE . . . . .	68
IX. THE MAN THEY LEFT BEHIND . . . . .	80
X. SEEDS OF UNDERSTANDING . . . . .	91

## Introduction

### The Soviet Scene in Focus

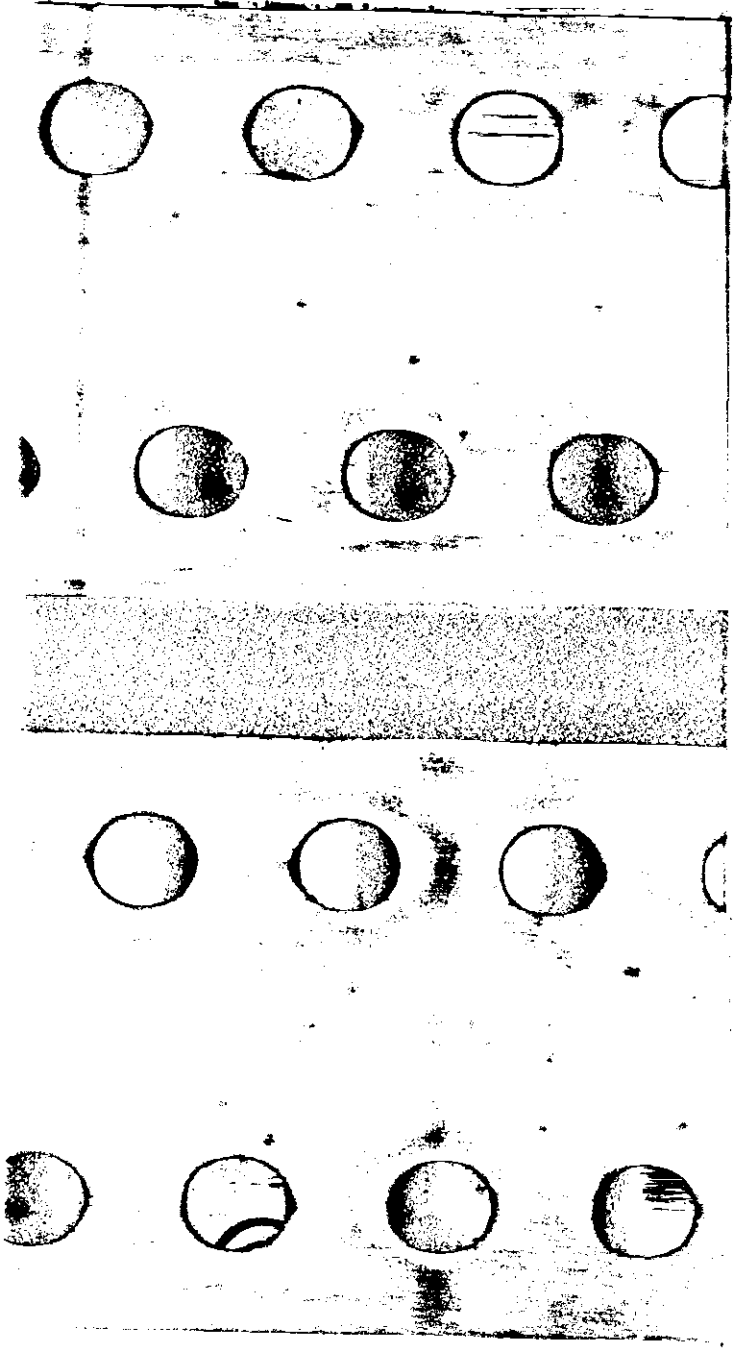
It is easy for the foreign visitor in the Soviet Union to feel a little as if he were looking at a three-dimensional motion picture without the necessary colored spectacles that are normally furnished by the management. Through one eye he sees a political and social system vastly different from his own at home or from any of the systems he may know anywhere in the non-Communist world. Through his other eye he sees ordinary human beings, very much like himself, who appear to be leading fairly normal lives within this strange system, and who know so little about the rest of the world that it is difficult to discuss it in terms that are intelligible to them. The bewildered foreign visitor, after trying in vain to bring these two pictures into focus, is apt to give up and simply ignore one image or the other.

The resultant picture of what he sees will be clear but it will lack the full dimensions of reality. The consequence is that the impressions of visitors returning from the Soviet Union tend to be even more contradictory than those of the usual foreign traveler appraising a culture not his own.

#### *Two Clues to Clarity*

Unfortunately, the blurred images of what the foreign visitor sees in the Soviet Union cannot be brought into focus by any such simple expedient as looking at them through red-and-green spectacles. Facing the complex puzzle of a society vastly different from his own, the traveler finds himself casting about for some clue to the puzzle, some simple formula that will enable him to understand and interpret what is strange about it in terms that are familiar to him through his experience in his own society. This effort to find simple interpretations can be misleading, and we are aware of its dangers; but we should like, nevertheless, to preface this account of our visit to the Soviet Union by sharing two generalizations that have made our experiences more intelligible to us. One views Soviet morality in terms of military necessity. The other sees Soviet dogmatism as an expression of a belief in "one true faith."





Despite this persecution, a number of non-conformist Christian groups had arisen in the Nineteenth Century, and by 1917 could count a substantial number of converts. The Russian Baptist Union, originating in the Ukraine, and the closely related Union of Evangelical Christians that had sprung from Lord Radstock's missionary work in St. Petersburg, were two of the most important of these dissenting groups, and between them they could count more than 105,000 members in 1914.\*

#### ***Orthodox Power Destroyed***

The immediate impact of the Revolution was to benefit the non-conformist sects by destroying the power of the Orthodox Church. For the first time they enjoyed a legal status, and in spite of an atmosphere of increasing Communist hostility the Baptists and Evangelical Christians grew to a combined membership of at least 4,000,000 by 1928. The history of the Orthodox Church during this same period is, of course, quite different. The unfortunate intolerance, obscurantism and corruption of much of the State Church prior to the Revolution marked it as a particular target of the militantly atheistic Communists, and there began at once the long and involved struggle between the government and the now disestablished church that did not end until 1943, when an agreement was entered into which granted all religious groups in the Soviet Union a measure of freedom in purely religious matters in return for their pledge not to interfere in the spheres of activity that the state reserved to itself.

This struggle between state and church, aimed originally at the dominant Orthodox Church, in time was broadened to include all religious groups, and between 1929 and 1943 every religious faith operated under severe and hostile restrictions. It was still possible to hold services of worship, but the basic Soviet law on religion, issued in 1929, forbade activities other than worship, and struck so effectively at church organization that the number of functioning churches and congregations declined drastically during the 1930's. By 1940, for example, the number of Baptist and Evangelical Christian congregations was cut from its 1928 figure of 3,200 to less than 1,000.

All of this changed with the 1943 agreement, which is still the basic law under which all religious groups function. Under it any church is free to organize, train its clergy, seek new members and conduct its services without fear of persecution. We found

\* Serge Bolshakoff, *Russian Non-Conformity* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 118.

## VIII

### *Religion in an Anti-Religious State*

When our group requested visas at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, we stated as one of our major purposes the desire to see something of religious life in the Soviet Union. It would appear that this desire was called to the particular attention of the Evangelical Christian Baptists, for their leadership welcomed us most warmly in Leningrad and Moscow, and later advised their provincial leaders of our itinerary, so that Baptist officials, usually bearing flowers, were almost a welcoming fixture at the airports where we landed. We visited not only several individual congregations of the Baptists, but also several Orthodox churches, a theological seminary for training the Orthodox priesthood, a church of the Old Believers, who separated from the Orthodox Church 300 years ago, and two Jewish synagogues.

In addition, we had a number of extended conversations with Baptist leaders in different parts of the Soviet Union, met with Metropolitan Nikolai in Moscow and interviewed the secretary of the Council on Affairs of Religious Cults, the government agency responsible for relations with all religious groups in the Soviet Union (except the Orthodox Church). All of these contacts helped provide an impression of the status of religion in Russia today and the prospects for its future vitality.

The various Christian churches in the Soviet Union have had a dramatic history since the 1917 Revolution. In tsarist times the Russian Orthodox Church held a privileged position, strikingly similar to that which is held in the Soviet Union today by the official religion of Marxism-Leninism. Only the Orthodox Church had the right to carry on missionary work among other religious groups; and a government decoration, the third grade of the Order of St. Anne, was granted to any Orthodox missionary "who is so fortunate as to make, with the aid of the police, 100 converts among the schismatics or infidels."\* It was a criminal offense, punishable by prison or exile, to criticize the Orthodox Church or clergy, to convert an Orthodox follower to any other faith or to publish or distribute any literature considered to advocate dissent from the established faith.

\* M. Searle Bates, *Religious Liberty: An Inquiry* (New York: Harcourt and Brothers, 1945), pp. 245-46.

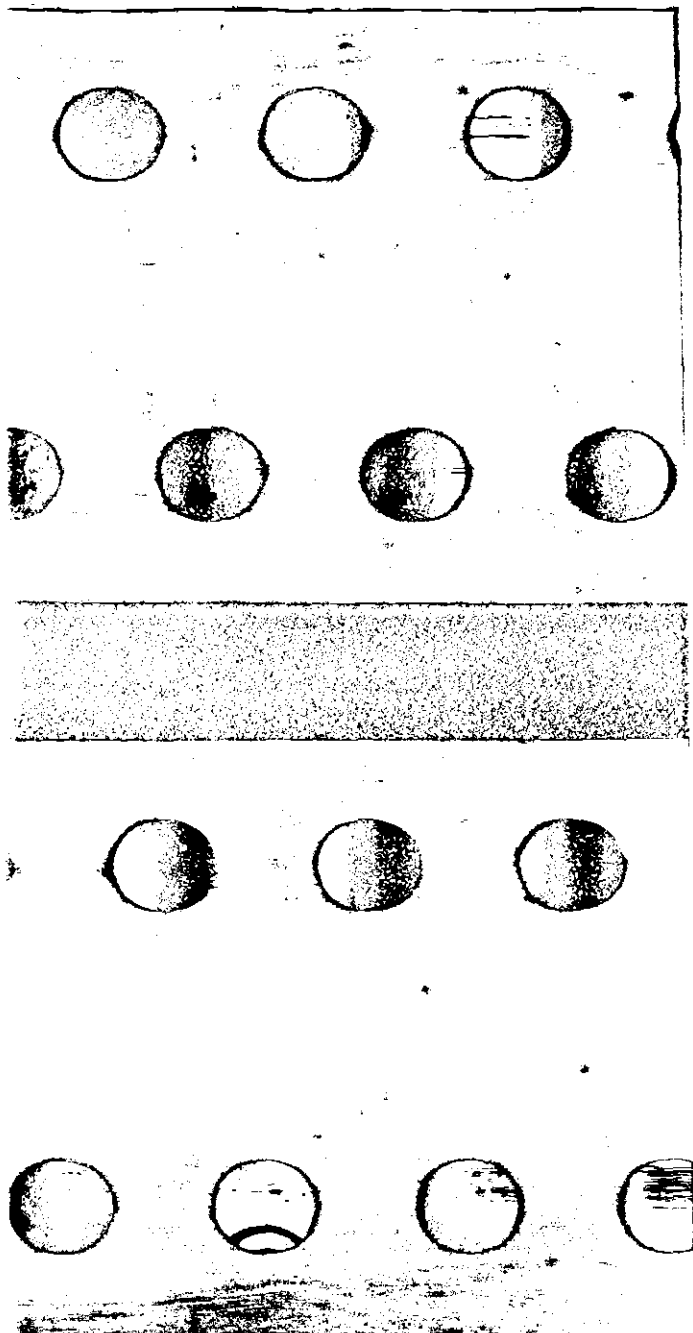
of his enthusiasm for O. Henry, Mark Twain, the Russian classics and a few of the better Soviet writers. Even though the foreign works in this reading material give the Russians an outdated and distorted picture of the outside world (based, for example, on such assiduously reprinted works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), still they are steeping themselves in much of the world's greatest literature. Despite the selective process that determines what is to be published, this great treasury of literary classics that is being made available to Russian readers gives them a view of man, the world and the meaning of life that is far too rich and complex to fit easily into the confines of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. What is more, present trends in Soviet book publishing point in the direction of greater variety in the future. The most startling and encouraging news in recent Soviet literary history was the announcement we heard informally during our visit (which was confirmed in the Soviet press a few months later) that the first sizable edition of Dostoevski's works to appear in the Soviet Union since the 1920's would be published during 1956 as a part of the observance of the 75th anniversary of his death. Of scarcely less significance as a sign of the times is the announcement that the 125th anniversary of the birth of Nikolai Leskov will be commemorated with a 12-volume edition of his selected writings, which will include numerous works that have not been republished since the Soviet Revolution. Probably no other writers of their stature in all Russian literature fit so ill into the framework of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy, and these two editions of their works are significant literary events.

No one who has read *The Brothers Karamazov* or *The Possessed* will fail to see the clear contradiction between publishing these works of Dostoevski and attempting to impose Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy upon the whole Soviet population. It is such contradictions as these that should make foreign observers beware of easy generalizations about Soviet reality. Who can say what fruits of the spirit may yet come forth in some distant—or not so distant—future out of just such contradictions as these?

The George Washingtons, Thomas Jeffersons and Abraham Lincolns who struggled for justice and freedom in Nineteenth Century Russia were not statesmen but writers. This traditional interest in literature has been increased and reinforced by the phenomenal rise in literacy rates achieved by the Soviet emphasis on universal education. Another reason is that the range of reading matter available to Russians in their bookshops is narrower than the range available in most non-Communist countries in the West. The authoritarian control of all publishing by the Soviet state gives the Russian reader no chance to be tempted by crime comics, magazines of movie gossip or sensationalism. (It also gives him no chance nowadays to obtain the works of a number of distinguished Russian writers of the period just before and just after the Revolution.) If the Russian wants to read anything at all, his choice is limited virtually to political books, technical books, carefully selected classics of Russian and foreign literatures and Soviet works written in the officially recommended spirit of optimistic idealism which is called "socialist realism." The popularity of the Nineteenth Century Russian classics requires no particularly ingenious explanation; they are simply great literature. The popularity of foreign literature, however, seems to be due not only to the Russians' robust appetite for culture but also to the fact that they have so long been cut off from most normal contacts with the rest of the world. Translations from foreign literatures are virtually their only first-hand contact with the thought of the outside world.

#### *Reading Choice Restricted*

This paternalistic control of literature by the Soviet authorities would be insufferable to most Western readers, who are accustomed to deciding for themselves what literature they consider good and what literature bad. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see what finally comes of this state-enforced literary tutelage in the Soviet Union. Today, thanks to his narrow range of choice in reading matter, to his isolation from the outside world and perhaps also to the rather drab reality of his life, the average Russian—especially in the cities—reads more and far better books than the average American or Western European. We saw taxi drivers reading Dreiser and Zola, discussed Pushkin's and Lermontov's poetry with a miner on a Volga excursion boat, saw ordinary people in the busses reading Leo Tolstoy (and others uncritically devoted to Jack London!), and listened to a pretty airline stewardess



of *Quixote* in Russian translation, which was issued a few months before our visit, did not appear in the bookstores at all, because the entire edition had been bought up by advance orders. We heard a few Russians grumbling about this state of affairs in terms that hinted at speculation in literature. These hints were apparently confirmed later when one member of our group happened upon a kind of ambulant literary black market in the heart of Moscow. The market was "black" not because the books that changed hands there were forbidden but because speculation in anything is forbidden in the Soviet Union. The books were simply works that were in such great demand they could not be obtained in the bookshops. Most of them were Russian translations of works by foreign authors—Dickens, Balzac, O. Henry, Dreiser, Jack London, Mark Twain and others.

#### *Crowded Bookstores*

In Moscow bookstores we often saw crowds standing three and four deep around the counters at which literary works were sold. The contrast between the literary counters and the political counters was so striking that we began deliberately checking on our impressions during our walks through the city. Not once did we see a crowd standing around the counter at which political books were sold. Several times we did not even see a clerk there. (No doubt she was helping to take care of the crowd at the literary counter!) Once when we teased a Soviet acquaintance about this implication of political indifference, he replied indignantly: "It doesn't mean a thing! That's only because there are always so many new books appearing at the literary counters. All of us have the Marxist classics at home already; so we don't have to spend a lot of time at the political counter. But you should see the crowd there when some important new political book comes out!"

We are still not convinced. To us the empty political counters in the bookshops reinforced our impression that Soviet citizens are among the most unpolitical people we have ever known. Here too, no doubt, one can see the Communists' own dialectical process at work, as if to spite them. Their overemphasis upon the forms of political activity without the political freedom that would give life to these forms has produced the very antithesis of what they wanted: political formalism and apathy, the transformation of political activity into political ritual.

What is it that has led to the great Russian interest in the classics of their own and foreign literatures? One reason, no doubt, is that the Russians have always taken literature seriously.

Igor is presented in such realistic detail! It one's attention in danger of being drawn away from the music by the stars that come out one by one when the eclipse reaches its height. In the final act of Moussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* at the Bolshoi Theater ancient wooden Moscow burns down with enough realism to make the audience start looking for the nearest exit.

The Soviet theater inherited a magnificent theatrical tradition, which had been created by such masters as Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko and was enriched in the early years of the Soviet period by the bold genius of Vsevolod Meyerhold. The experimental vigor of the 1920's was numbed, however, by the cold winds of conformity that swept through the Soviet Union in the 1930's, and the Soviet theater has remained fairly static ever since. This conservatism has been reinforced by the traditional repertory system of Russian theaters. Virtually the same selection of Russian and foreign plays is produced year after year. The strength of this system is that it offers Soviet theatergoers — particularly in the large cities — a magnificent array of the best drama of all times. During one week of our visit the theaters of Moscow alone offered five plays of Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, *Othello* played in two different theaters, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*) and plays by a dozen other foreign authors, including the Englishman John Galsworthy, the German Friedrich Schiller, the Spaniard Lope de Vega and the American Lillian Hellman. Foreign and pre-revolutionary Russian drama made up about half of that week's repertory of all the theaters in Moscow. Along with its strength, this conservative Soviet theatrical system also has the weakness of monotony. While New Yorkers are able to see some 80 new plays every year, Londoners about 100 and Parisians about 150 (few of them masterpieces, to be sure), the Moscow theatergoer rarely has a chance to see more than a dozen new plays from one year to the next.

#### **Literary Black Market**

The most interesting manifestation of the Russians' cultural interests was to be found in their bookshops. Books in the Soviet Union are relatively cheap, and the Russians are insatiable readers. Their tastes run strongly to their own classics and to the foreign works that are permitted to circulate in Russian translation. Works by Tolstoy, Turgenev, Pushkin, Gogol and a host of lesser Russian writers of the Nineteenth Century are published in enormous editions, often running into hundreds of thousands of copies. Several Russians told us that a new edition

every corner and all day long there was a line of people in front of the museum awaiting their turn to see the collection.

Some members of our group were particularly interested in the plastic arts and made an effort to determine what new trends or innovations had appeared since 1939, when the flower of Soviet realism was exhibited at the New York World's Fair. We spent some time in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, which specializes in Russian art and is arranged by years, thus facilitating our effort to study the trends. We got the impression that there was probably some greater freedom in the choice of subject matter today than in 1939. Along with the prevailing type of painting with an obvious social message there were some landscapes and some still lifes. As for techniques, there was nothing new or experimental. A very few canvasses had touches of impressionistic brush work but nothing reflecting the influence of Twentieth Century painting in the West. While considerable technical skill of a conventional kind was reflected in numerous paintings, the general result might be described as calendar art. Going back to the Nineteenth Century and before, we felt that even Soviet realism was perhaps an improvement on early Russian painting. For many decades Russian painters seemed to be concerned largely with portraiture in a static style.

The canons of Russian taste are perhaps more acceptable in sculpture than in painting. There were some effective character studies in this medium, and in some public buildings we saw monumental examples of high relief, with hundreds of sculptured figures marching out of a painted background. The absence of what we call modern architecture is one of the most striking things about the Soviet building program. New construction is almost entirely in ornate Victorian style, an indication perhaps of the cultural stage through which the Soviet people are now passing. The only "modern" building we saw was the box-like theatre in Rostov, built experimentally in the 1930's and now considered outdated by the Soviet citizenry.

#### *Theatrical Realism*

The Soviet cultivation of realism in art probably finds its best application in the theater. For perfection in creating the theatrical illusion of reality it would probably be hard to find an equal anywhere in the world to the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. On the tremendous stage of the Bolshoi, almost as deep as the auditorium itself, a river is not just a painted strip on a backdrop, but it has waves and ripples and keeps flowing throughout the scene. The total eclipse in Borodin's opera *Prince*

quite as impressive as present-day achievements in the natural sciences.

In general the Soviet universities appear to be one of the most hopeful forces in Soviet society. By its very nature as an institution organized to explore the frontiers of knowledge, the university cannot be wholly regimented, for then it would cease to function as a university, and the vital sources of our expanding knowledge about man and the world would begin to dry up. The great emphasis that is placed on the natural sciences and the scientific method in Soviet education tends to cultivate in Soviet students and scholars an attitude of mind that is unlikely to prove compatible very long with any dogmatism, including the present dogmatic interpretations of Marxism. It will be interesting to see what the ultimate consequences will be of the present emphasis on science in Soviet education. One wonders what significance there may be even now in the proportions of Communist Party members in university faculties. While 34.4 per cent of all teachers in higher education in 1947 were Party members, the percentage among full professors was only 25.4 and among professors in engineering technical fields only 17.4.

During World War II, when Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union on his trip around the world, he told Stalin he was impressed by the schools and libraries he had seen. "But if you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin," he said, "the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of a job."

It must be admitted that the Communist Party is a long way as yet from having educated its own dictatorship out of existence. But in the emphasis it has placed upon education—even though that education is as "partisan" and biased as the Party can make it—the Party has set in motion a force that may possibly have a significant leavening influence, in the course of time, upon the Communist dictatorship itself.

#### **Thirst for Culture**

Few things in Russia impressed us so much as the well-nigh inexhaustible thirst of the Russian people for culture. In Leningrad we saw crowds of unsophisticated-looking Russians walking wide-eyed through the galleries of the Hermitage Museum, which holds one of the richest art collections in the world. In Moscow, where the Dresden art treasures (taken out of Germany at the end of World War II) were placed on display for the three summer months before being returned to Germany

• Wendell Willkie, *One World* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1943), pp. 70-71.



institutions was approximately 1 to 12.6, while in the United States it is at 1 to 14. Although there were only 27,000 graduate students enrolled in the Soviet Union in 1952 (as compared to 69,000 master's and doctor's degrees alone awarded in the United States that year), the Soviet Union in 1954 graduated twice as many engineers as the United States and three times as many physicians. More than 60 per cent of all Soviet graduates that year were in engineering and the sciences, as compared to 25 per cent in the United States. By 1950 the Soviet Union had about 100 persons with a higher education for every 10,000 population, which is a slightly higher proportion than that of most Western European countries but is far below the United States figure of 320 per 10,000 population. The number of Soviet citizens with higher education working in the applied scientific fields, however, is believed to equal or slightly surpass the number in the United States.

Up to 1940 all Soviet education was tuition-free and a broad scholarship program provided all students except those on probation with a monthly stipend for expenses. In 1940 moderate tuition fees of 150 to 200 rubles were introduced into the three upper grades of middle school, and fees of 300 to 500 rubles in all institutions of higher education. These tuition fees still exist in higher education, but almost all students (more than 96 per cent at the University of Moscow, for example) receive scholarships, which are awarded on the basis of grades.

#### *Science Education Advanced*

From what has already been said it is no doubt clear that the Soviet educational system is impressive and deserves to be considered one of the most notable achievements of the Soviet regime. Its level of scientific and technical work in general appears to be comparable to that of the United States.\* On the other hand, much less attention is devoted to the humanities and social sciences in Soviet education than in American education, and Soviet work in these areas is much more seriously affected than Soviet science by the Procrustean bed of Marxist-Leninist dogma. If Soviet scholarship is ever freed from the dead weight of Marxist scholasticism and political censorship, the subsequent achievements in the humanities and social sciences may well be

\* On January 2, 1956, *The New York Times* cited an article in the *Scientific American* showing that the United States had lost five years in time and spent \$200,000 unnecessarily in an effort to solve a number of problems in the area of electrical circuits which had already been solved in the Soviet Union and described in a Soviet scientific magazine in 1950.

1955, marks the beginning of a transition toward universal year compulsory education, which is expected to be achieved by about 1960.

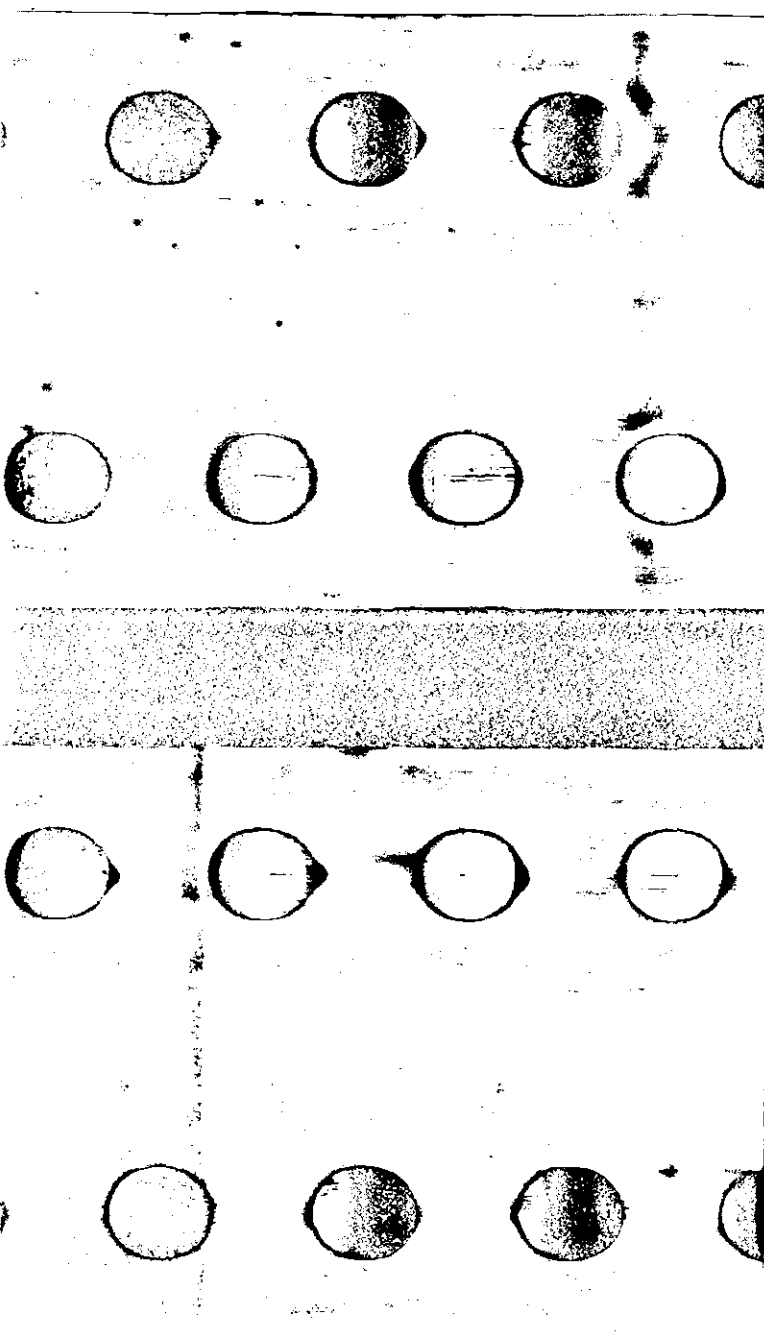
Except for the choice of foreign language (usually English, German or French), the curriculum in all ten grades is the same for all students. Soviet schools devote much more time to American schools to foreign languages, geography, mathematics and the natural sciences. For example, a foreign language is begun in the fifth grade and studied for six years. Most university curriculums require four more years of foreign-language study, and medical students study two years of Latin in addition. In 1953 almost 41 per cent of the class hours in the three upper grades was devoted to mathematics and the sciences, and in the fall of 1955 the proportion was increased even more. Revised at that time, the required program in all ten-year schools now includes the following subjects: Russian language and literature (including the study of some foreign works in translation, among them Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Part I of Goethe's *Faust*), a foreign language, history, geography, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., psychology, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, physics, astronomy, singing, drawing, manual arts and physical culture and sport (including military training as early as the fifth grade).

#### **Teacher Ratio High**

The pupil-teacher ratio in Soviet schools has been steadily improving. In 1930 there were 36 pupils per teacher in primary and secondary schools, in 1940 there were 28, in 1950 there were 23; and the ratio since 1950 appears to have dropped even lower, owing partly to the drop in enrollment as a result of the postwar time decrease in birth rate and losses in population.

Soviet university work includes a basic program lasting four to six years, depending on the field; and graduate work comprises two advanced degrees, the *kandidat* (degree of candidate), which requires three years of graduate work and a thesis; and the doctoral degree, which is normally received considerably later than in the United States and is not considered a prerequisite for employment or advancement in a university.

In 1954 there were about 1,100,000 full-time university students in the Soviet Union—considerably less than had many as in the United States, where there were 2,600,000. In 1953-54 there were 803 institutions of higher education in the Soviet Union, as compared to 1,851 in the United States. In 1954 the ratio of faculty to students in Soviet universities



which comprises the first four grades; the "complete middle school," comprising the first seven grades; and the "middle school," comprising the full ten-year program that prepares students for entrance into the university. The teaching program is identical at corresponding levels in all three types of schools. The student who has completed a seven-year school or the seventh grade of a ten-year school can enter a "technicum," or trade high school, which allows him to complete his ten-year school program with three years of semi-professional technical training in one of a great variety of fields.

An example of the distribution of these schools might be given by citing the town of Penza, which as was noted earlier has a population of perhaps 175,000. When we asked the alert young principal of one of its middle schools how many schools there were in the town, her answer was simple: "Enough for everybody." Apparently the Soviet State Secrets law of 1947 still makes Soviet citizens reluctant to give any kind of statistics to foreigners. Fortunately, there is less reluctance in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, which declares that on January 1, 1955, the town of Penza had 12 primary schools, 15 seven-year schools, 22 ten-year schools and 7 trade high schools. In addition it had 11 "schools for working youth," which operate normally in three daily shifts and provide the basic ten-year education for young people who for one reason or another have dropped out of regular schools and wish to continue studying while they work. These schools for working youth were set up near the end of World War II as an emergency measure for young people whose schooling had been interrupted, but now they appear to have become a permanent part of the Soviet educational system.

#### *Longer Schooling Given*

In the United States about 55 per cent of the children who enter the first grade complete the full 12 years of grammar and high school. In the Soviet Union the proportion of those who complete the ten-year-school program was only about 5 per cent in the past and even today is only about 12 per cent. This has resulted partly from lack of school facilities and partly from a highly selective educational policy, designed to weed out all but the most able students and direct the others into types of education or occupations more suited to their ability. Until recently the ten-year middle school served primarily to prepare the abler students for the University. A substantial revision of the ten-year curriculum, which went into effect in the fall of

## VII

### *Soviet Education and Culture*

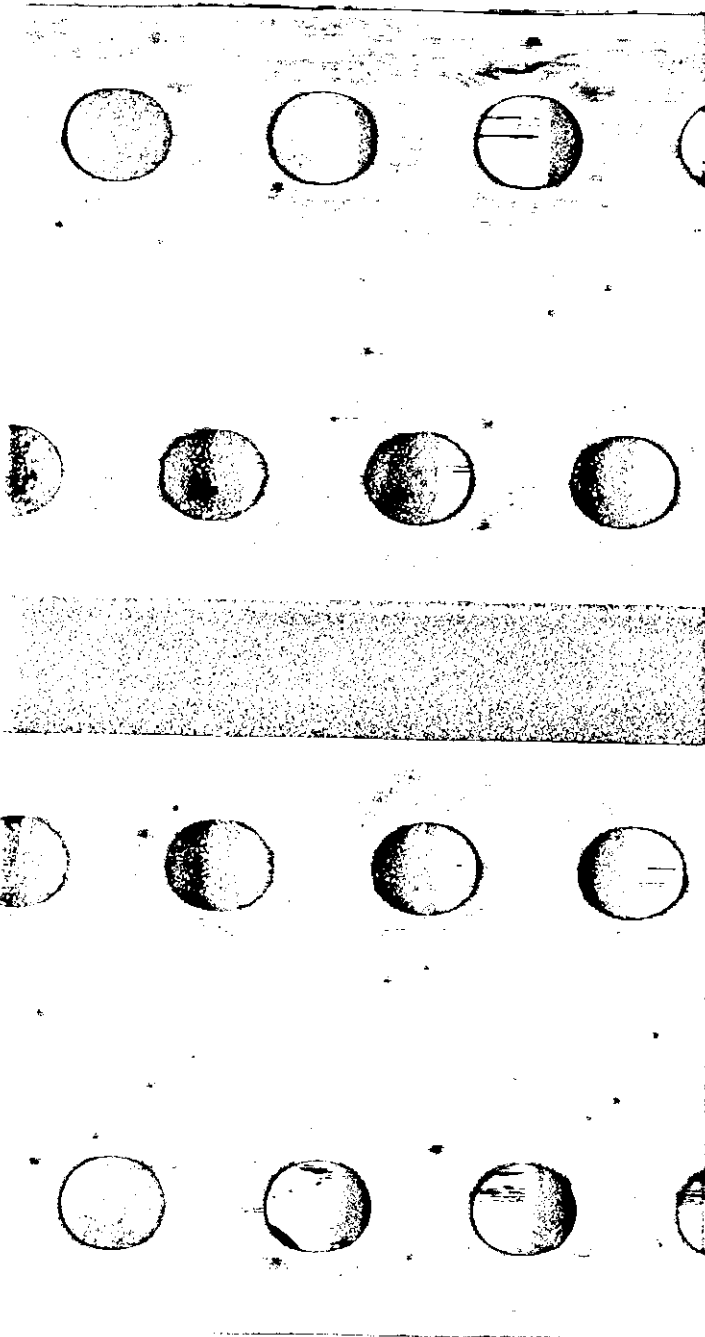
Since Leninist doctrine in the Soviet Union is proclaimed as the one infallible key to truth, the principle function of the Soviet school system is to bring the younger generation up as staunch believers in the Marxist religion. And since the Marxist doctrine of class war has led logically to the extension of military thinking, military strategy and wartime ethical values to all areas of life, the Soviet educational system can likewise be compared to the special training programs set up within the Red armies to supply whatever cadres of trained personnel the armies require.

According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, there is no conflict between these two aims and the aim of giving every person the opportunity to develop his own abilities. Since Marxist-Leninist doctrine teaches that the individual finds real self-fulfillment only in identifying himself with his Soviet society, the use of Soviet schools as instruments for the propagation of the Marxist faith and the gearing of Soviet education to the needs of the state are considered actually to make it easier for the individual Soviet citizen to achieve self-realization.

Within this framework, reflecting as it does a system of values considerably different from those which are reflected in American education, it can be said that the Soviet educational system offers significant opportunities for a large number of young men and women to get training in proportion to their ability. It is understandable that the opportunity is greater in the cities than in the country. Whereas rural children form 69 per cent of the total Soviet school enrollment and only 31 per cent of city children in the first four grades by three to one, the proportion is almost reversed in the last three grades (eighth, ninth, and tenth), where city children form 59 per cent of the total enrollment.\*

Soviet children start to school at the age of seven. There are two types of basic schools exist side by side: the "primary school"

\* These figures and much of the other statistical data in this chapter are drawn from the excellent new study of the whole Soviet educational system by Nicholas DeWitt, *Soviet Professional Manpower* (Washington: National Science Foundation, 1955).



...ed to an interview with an official in the Akmo' Agricultural Ministry. From this discussion and from interviews in Moscow, as well as from our own observation in Central Asia, we conclude that the whole vast experiment represents an enormous gamble. Rainfall is the key to success or failure, and rainfall per year averages only a marginal 12 inches. With a weather break, good crops will be produced, as they were in the first year (1954) of the experiment, but in a dry year they will fail. Eventually enough snow fences may be built and wind breaks planted to help hold moisture and top soil, but in the meantime it seemed likely to us that several years of consecutive drought might turn the whole region into a dust bowl, especially in view of the wind which seems to sweep constantly across the flat plain. The land itself is adequate, but we were advised that some fertilizer is necessary and is being widely used. No irrigation is attempted, since the engineering and supply problems are too great for present Soviet resources, although irrigation is a theoretical possibility.

It is too early to predict with any certainty the chances of success without irrigation. All that can be said is that if the project succeeds, it will make a major contribution to the solution of the Soviet farm problem. If it fails, it will be a failure of vast proportions, carrying with it the hopes and dreams, if not the lives, of great numbers of Soviet citizens. On the basis of our own inadequate visit, and bearing in mind the drought conditions which prevailed in the course of it and may have influenced our view, we are inclined to the opinion that the new lands are not the basic answer to the Soviet agricultural problem. Dramatic as is the experiment, we suggest that a more fundamental answer must be found on the farms of European Russia, an answer which will result in increased productivity on existing farms, especially in the fertile Ukraine.

a reasonable quantity of maps. Laboratory equipment and demonstration apparatus for the physics and mathematics departments were, however, limited and poor in both schools. We were told with pride that two graduates were studying at the University of Moscow, a large painting of which formed the backdrop of the auditorium stage. This school also boasted a farm and a model railroad. Each class was required to spend two afternoons a week working its plot on the school farm. We were particularly impressed with the work of the eighth grades, who were being taught irrigation techniques and applying them on their plots.

The model railroad is a rather common adjunct of middle schools, but we were surprised to find one in Akmolinsk. The Soviet Union is in the midst of the railroad age, and interest in railroading among school children is stimulated by providing them with opportunity to operate small model railroads. One at Akmolinsk included two stations and two kilometers of track, with a four-car train running on a regular schedule. Older children serve as engineers, conductors, switchmen, station masters, ticket sellers and so forth, while the younger children do work under their direction and ride as passengers.

There is a functioning Orthodox church in Akmolinsk, built of wood and painted a faded blue, but we did not find it attracting large numbers of people to its evening services. The church was in sharp contrast to our experience with church attendance in other parts of the Soviet Union, and it may have been the pressure of agricultural activity, since our visit occurred at the height of the growing season.

#### *Sewing Machine Villain*

Several movie houses were playing Russian and Uzbek films and were being well patronized. We saw an Uzbek film that had been produced in Tashkent and were impressed with its technical quality, if not its story content. The plot related the capture by Communist forces of the city of Bukhara in 1920 and suffered badly from the stereotyped casting that has been the most Soviet art expression in a straitjacket since the revolution. One noteworthy aspect of the picture was the presence of a villain's role, of course—of a Western businessman who was identified only as "the representative of the Singer Company," which suggests that the impact of American merchandising is deep enough to be recognized by Central Asian audiences even after 40 years.

Our direct contact with the new lands program itself

... a large anti-American poster depicting a greedy Uncle Sam riding an atomic bomb and grasping at a gold dollar as he approaches the edge of a cliff, at the foot of which lies the wreckage of the Nazi war machine. This poster was the only remaining example that we found in the Soviet Union of these once common expressions of propaganda. Much more annoying were the obvious suspicions of the functionary from the Education Ministry assigned to show us the sights. This young man accompanied us on most of the excursions around town—to a chick hatchery, to two middle schools, to the "house of culture," to the model railroad and to the "park of rest," and rarely did he let us out of his sight. On one occasion, after one of our group had gotten grease on his hands, our guide instructed the taxi driver to accompany him to the river edge, ostensibly to show him how to wash his hands, but obviously to make sure he took no pictures under cover of the bank. Pictures were not permitted of any living creature and only of especially approved buildings so conventional that their counterparts could be found in every country of the world. This excessive caution, and a cool detached manner, marked our guide as a young man anxious to succeed by hewing to the letter of every regulation. He was only trying to do his duty, but he sorely tried our patience in the process.

#### *Limited Facilities*

In spite of these difficulties, we managed to see a large part of the town and to gather some impression of the new lands program. For its size, Akmolinsk was the most poorly equipped community from a cultural standpoint that we visited. Its "house of culture" was a rather large two-story wood structure badly in need of paint both inside and out, with a fair library on the first floor and an auditorium on the second. Large posters giving statistics on 1954 farm production and announcing the 1955 goals lined the corridors on both floors. Few persons were in evidence, but our visit occurred during the work day, and we were assured that the facilities were well utilized in the evening.

Ten years of schooling is available to Akmolinsk children, and we visited two of the town's middle schools. One was undergoing extensive repairs, including the installation of a completely new heating system, although the building was only eight years old. The other was notable for its cosmopolitan atmosphere, with a North Korean principal, a Tartar associate and various racial strains evident on the playground. Equipment in both schools was limited, although there was an adequate supply of desks and chairs, blackboards in every classroom and

we clashed head-on with Soviet bureaucrats. It was here that we were kept under definite surveillance; it was here that we found a remnant of the old, hostile, anti-American displays and attitudes that have happily gone out of fashion in more accessible parts of the Soviet Union. As a result, we were unable to accomplish our main purpose in coming to Akmolinsk: we never got outside the town onto one of the new farms. The only view we gained of the new lands program itself was from the air on the way to and from Akmolinsk. This glimpse of vast new fields stretching as far as the eye could see across the flat emptiness of the central Asian plain was breathtaking and impressive, but it was no substitute for direct ground observation of the harvest machines at work, the new farms in construction or the 1954 crop in preparation. Judged by this result alone, the Akmolinsk visit would have to be written off as a failure.

Fortunately, there were some valuable by-products. In the first place, we learned something about the plight of the individual and unknown citizen who tries to do battle with the massive Soviet bureaucracy. Bureaucracy and big government always go together, and in the Soviet Union where government is bigger than anywhere else, bureaucracy manages somehow to keep pace. As in Penza, we spent three days trying to beat down its provincial expression in Akmolinsk and retired in total defeat. Basically, the problem was that the particular official who gave permission to foreigners to move outside the city was away, and in his absence nothing could be done. Delegation of responsibility is not a part of the Soviet system. Nobody will give permission not specifically within his sphere of responsibility. Neither will he provide a direct answer as to when the needed official will return or whether he can be reached in the interim. In our case, local agricultural officials were in constant telephone communication with their chief, but even our able Intourist guide was unable to learn where he was or whether our request was ever transmitted. For three days we went from pillar to post, and the only answer we ever got was: "The countryside is no concern of mine."

#### ***Anti-American Feeling***

We also saw something of the openly suspicious climate about which Westerners have complained in the past. In sharp contrast to the relaxing atmosphere and lack of surveillance that we noted in other Soviet cities, Akmolinsk officials had apparently not yet been notified of the change in Soviet policy toward the West. Still to be seen in the town's "park of res-



ater in the well, the washroom was alternately 1. 2 to overflowing or completely deserted. When it was filled, three or four persons sometimes crowded around a single basin, one attempting to wash his face, another his feet, a third to cup his hands for a drink and a fourth to fill a water jug. Under these circumstances, washing was not a leisurely occasion.

The hotel teemed with a melange of people from all parts of the Soviet Union, and indeed from the whole Communist world. Most of the accommodations were dormitory style, but there were a number of small private rooms into which as many beds as possible were crammed. The overflow slept on the floor and on benches or chairs in the central lobby. Most of the guests appeared to be minor government officials or farmers in town for business purposes in connection with the new lands program. Certainly the hotel was not being used as a transient center for new recruits coming into the region to work on the massive new state farms. These people are quartered in dormitories better equipped to handle the numbers involved.

#### *Labor Not Quite Forced*

Akmolinsk is an overcrowded community thrust into prominence by the great project which it helps to service. We were impressed by the large numbers of young people to be seen on the streets and concluded that young people make up the bulk of the new farm labor needed in the region. As far as we could learn, these recruits are not actually dragooned into coming out into this empty prairie land, but they are certainly given every encouragement to do so. In the first place, there is a wage incentive: wages offered by the government on a three-year contractual basis are almost double those offered by state farms in the Ukraine. Second, since this is apparently not enough, considerable pressure is placed on the graduates of agricultural schools to go into the new lands region on the completion of their training. We have no grounds for suggesting that such a move is actually obligatory, but we concluded that unless a person had a pretty good reason for not doing so, he would be likely to end up in Akmolinsk or Barnaul or one of the other centers serving the new lands program. Obviously, some pressure is exerted, because the region is not an appealing one in which to invest one's life, or even a few years of it.

In retrospect, our stay in Akmolinsk emerges as one of the most interesting and illuminating experiences of our whole Soviet visit, although while it was in process we felt only frustration, annoyance and physical discomfort. It was here that

proached by air from Alma Ata, making what would have been a 50-hour train trip in 4 hours.

Our plane landed at nine o'clock one morning on the typical Soviet Asian airfield that doubles as grazing land for goats and sheep. There we were transferred to an ancient and springy bus that carried us into town amid good-humored laughter from our fellow passengers, who were half choked by the clouds of dust and half shaken apart by the rutted road. There is no bridge over the Ishim River; so the driver put the bus into low gear, raced the motor, and plunged across, while cattle, water carts, and human beings scattered in all directions. Later we discovered that the only two motorized taxis in Akmolinsk must perform the same feat backwards, since they are smaller Pobeds whose motors are flooded if they attempt a front-first passage.

#### *Dusty and Barren*

Akmolinsk is a sprawling community of perhaps 125,000 population in these boom days. Much of the town is of one-story log or clay construction, and the visitor's first impression is adjusting to the eternally blowing dust that lies an inch or deeper on the unpaved streets is that construction has apparently proceeded without benefit of plumb line or square. Doubtless this is a false impression gained in the older sections of town where the ravages of time and winter storms have taken a heavy toll, but the impression is heightened by the almost total absence of trees and shrubs or even grass to camouflage the bare appearance of the residential section. More substantial buildings are of course to be found in the central parts of the town; many of these, too, present a weatherbeaten and dusty appearance, especially at the time of our visit in the dry season, when no rain had fallen for two months and little was expected for three more.

Plumbing facilities in Akmolinsk are of the most primitive sort, and few buildings are equipped with running water. Residents must rely on the Ishim River, and the most common vehicles are the horse-drawn water carts that provide a small percentage of the water used by the community. There are wells, but during the dry season they tend to dry up. In the major hotel in Akmolinsk, for example, the single washroom was servicing perhaps 100 guests, was equipped with six wash basins three on either side of a partition that may have been so that separate facilities would be available for men and women—a nicety that has now been abandoned. Because these facilities were operative sporadically thanks to an irregular supply

## VI

### *The Soviet Frontier*

One of the most significant aspects of our 12,000-mile itinerary is the evidence it provided of a loosening of restrictions on travel within the Soviet Union. It is certainly easier to move around in Russia than it was a few years ago, and as we learned in the course of our Asian visit, it is now possible for the tourist to see some parts of the Soviet frontier. In view of the charges so frequently leveled that one is permitted to see only the more comfortable and more advanced sides of Soviet life, it is significant that we were able to include a town like Akmolinsk in our itinerary.

Akmolinsk is neither frequented by tourists nor equipped to handle them. To our knowledge, only *Clifton Daniel of The New York Times* had preceded us in visiting Akmolinsk. We did not find it a community that would appeal to anyone bent on living an easy life. The town is situated on the Ishim River some 400 miles northwest of Lake Balkhash, in the heart of the great central Asian plain. It is an important crossroads today because it is one of the centers from which the vast Soviet experiment in new lands development is being pushed.

#### *Vast Experiment*

It is characteristic of the Soviet Union to do its planning on a large-scale basis, and its attempt to resolve the problem of lagging grain production is fully in keeping with this tradition. Some 70 million acres of hitherto virgin grassland are being put into cultivation over a three-year period, largely through the creation of enormous state farms scattered over a 500-mile expanse of the flat and sparsely populated plain. It was because we wanted to see this experiment that two of us journeyed to Akmolinsk.

Until comparatively recently Akmolinsk has been accessible only by unsurfaced roads or by air. Railroad construction is, however, proceeding rapidly in Central Asia, and Akmolinsk is now served by a north-and-south rail line running between Petropavlovsk and Alma Ata and by another running 500 miles east to Barnaul and Novosibirsk. For time reasons, we ap-

brigade to be near their children even when working and to be with them during the long three-hour midday break which the hot southern climate of the region made necessary. The brigade rest centers themselves, although well-filled with political portraits and production charts, were equipped with radios, chess boards and tables, and provided a midday meal. The same farm, obviously from its name the best in the region, also boasted a "house of culture" (for plays and concerts and festivals), a library, a winter tea room and an attractive "park of culture and rest." Other farms visited were rather less well-equipped with these peripheral facilities, although all had them in some measure.

Another characteristic of Soviet collective farms is the tendency to develop some processing operations on the farm itself. Sometimes these operations are for the convenience of the members of the collective, as for example, the small milling operation producing flour on the Ray of the East Farm near Alma Ata. In other cases, processing operations are on a commercial basis. We found wineries, jam plants, flour mills, cabbage-salting operations and slaughter-houses on the various farms we saw, suggesting a rather heavy involvement in processing as well as production.

There is no doubt that agricultural production is one of the major internal problems of the Soviet Union. Entirely aside from the inadequacy of distribution mechanisms, food is a crucial problem because not enough is being produced to keep pace with an increasing population. This is particularly true in relation to livestock and dairy products. Everywhere we went we found agricultural interest centering on furthering animal husbandry. The rebuilding of herds decimated by wars and the severity of Russian winters is a major goal, and accounts for the particular interest in both the acreage and quality of corn.

Soviet leaders are thoroughly aware of their agricultural crisis. One out of every three collective farm managers is being replaced by Moscow-trained experts—a project that will affect more than 30,000 farms. Comprehensive plans for the systematic increase of livestock are a part of the program of every Soviet Republic we visited, and of course the enormous new lands program in Central Asia is one of the keystones of the increased production effort. It is our opinion, however, that lessening specialization, increasing incentive and reducing the size of farms would all be steps that merit more consideration than they appear on the surface to be receiving.

mechanized equipment. With more farm machinery being available, the justification for the machine tractor stations, except as instruments of control, disappears, and we felt that their position was rather less dominant than a few years back. Despite this, government control over the collective farm remains strong.

We found that the size of individual peasant holdings varied in different parts of the Soviet Union. The smallest plots we saw were on the Stalin Farm near Tashkent, where the peasants were limited to about one-third of an acre. We were told here that the farm meeting had itself cut each holding to this level from a previous level of two-thirds of an acre on the grounds that it was inefficient to farm the larger plots by hand when machines could be used if the land were returned to the collective. The largest plots permitted were on the Gastello Farm near Minsk, where each peasant could have a plot of one and a half acres.

All work on these private holdings is, of course, performed in the peasant's free time outside of the regular work hours required of him on the collective lands. Children and old people also help, and the produce harvested constitutes an important supplement to the family income, either as food or as a source of cash through its sale in the city farm markets.

In addition to holding land, the individual peasant may own livestock and poultry within limits which again vary with regional conditions. On a sheep farm near Alma Ata we found the peasants permitted as many as 40 sheep, which could, in addition, be grazed on the collective lands. The same farm permitted individual ownership of three cows. On the other hand, on the Stalin Farm near Tashkent, one cow and eight sheep were the limit. As far as we could learn, no limits were set on poultry holdings except those imposed by space and facilities.

All the farms visited had reasonably good medical, educational and recreational facilities. Free clinics were in operation, as well as schools, which provided at least seven years of education. Children under 16 were not permitted on the regular work force except during the summer months, when we observed them being employed to watch livestock but not engaged in heavy work. Each farm also had child-care centers where pre-school children of working mothers were cared for during working hours. On the Stalin Farm near Tashkent, which was entirely operated by Uzbeks and was the finest farm we visited, there were nine of these day nurseries located adjacent to the brigade rest centers in the middle of the brigade work area. This arrangement made it possible for the women members of the

many of the peasants, especially the idle ones, and it is fortunate that transfers between brigades are possible with the approval of the farm officers. Thus, if the peasant runs into personality clashes with his colleagues or for other reasons desires a change, it can in time be arranged.

Our impression of these work brigades is one of over-organization. There is so much specialization that many workers are idle during periods when their particular assignments are not required. For example, in the milking department of the Kirov Collective Farm near Penza (where the Quaker delegation constituted the first Western visitors) we observed a herd of 40 cows being milked by seven women. Two other women worked only at carrying the milk to larger cans and filling them. Two more kept detailed records, and two men assigned to the truck crew waited until the entire operation was complete before driving off in their loaded trucks. Thus, 13 persons were engaged in a milking operation involving only 40 head of cattle. Part of this problem of good labor utilization undoubtedly stems from the large size of the farms and the difficulty of organizing an outsize work force. Soviet agricultural experts seem to favor larger and larger units along with bigger and bigger machinery. We wonder whether this is the wisest policy. Certainly the farms we saw were all big ones, ranging in size from 4,000 to 25,000 acres, and employing from 1,000 to 3,000 workers. Can 1,000 workers be organized efficiently on a 4,000-acre farm? We doubt it.

#### *Doubtful Authority*

Farm management nominally rests with the farm meeting to which all members of the collective belong. This body, convening infrequently, passes on such matters as production plans, acreage allotments and building programs, and selects the farm officers. How much real democracy exists and how much the decisions are merely a formal ratification of previously worked-out plans and election slates, we were not able to verify, but it is doubtful whether the meeting has much real authority. There appears, however, to be a slow trend toward increased local responsibility, with the farm officers having rather more leeway in decision-making than heretofore. As concrete evidence of this on two farms we visited we found a few tractors as well as other machinery owned directly by the farm. Although the number was small, it suggests some measure of independence from the machine tractor stations which have always been in a position to dominate all farm planning by their monopoly on

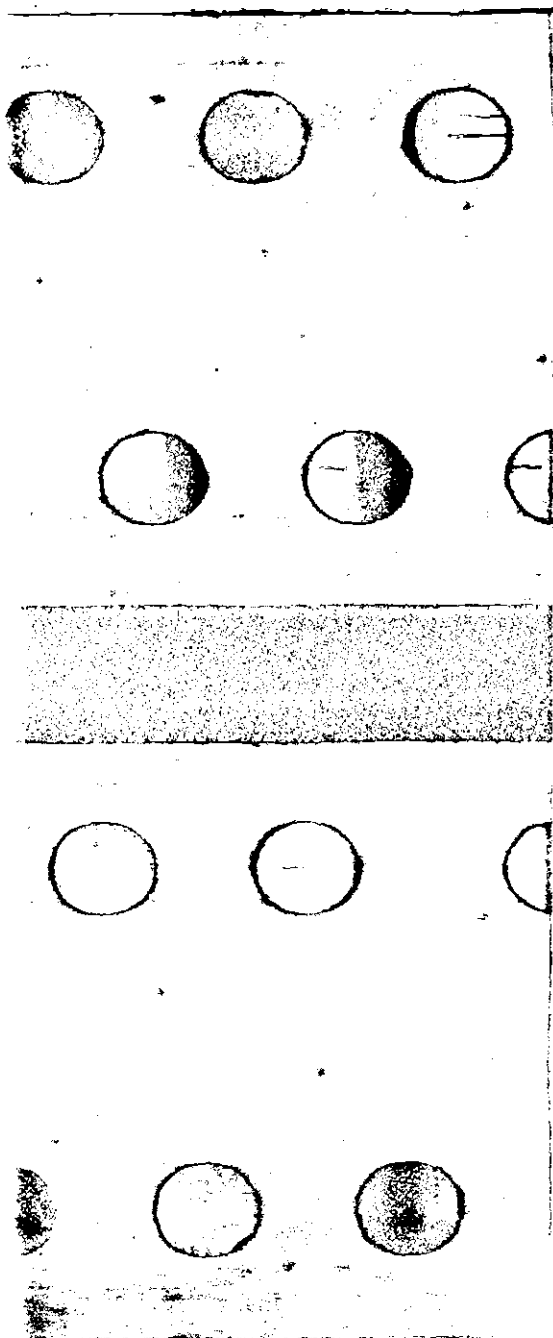
Where the position of the Soviet farmer differs greatly from that of his non-Soviet counterparts is in his working arrangements. More than 99 per cent of all farming is collectivized. This pattern of life is instantly recognized by any traveler as soon as he crosses the Soviet border, because the narrow farm village with its little privately held plots of land surrounded by the large fields of the collective makes a distinctive pattern. While the individual peasant is permitted to farm his own small plot of land in his spare time, he is obliged to work on the collective throughout a regular work week whose hours vary in different parts of the country.

Under the collective farm system, the members accumulate work units in accordance with an elaborate system of job ratings, and are compensated either in kind or in cash, as they prefer. Payments in kind are made through a complicated calculation of the work-unit value of each item of produce, while the ruble value depends on the cash intake of the farm and the number of work units accumulated. All of these payroll mechanics require extensive bookkeeping and contribute to the inefficiency that seemed to us to mark Soviet agriculture as we saw it.

#### *State Farms*

Most farming is organized around the collective, but a second type of organization exists in the state farm. These are farms organized like factories and operated directly by the government, using labor on a straight wage basis. In the European parts of the Soviet Union they do not play a large role in the farm economy; but in Central Asia, where the government is attempting to make badly needed increases in grain production by placing vast new lands into cultivation, the state farm is widely developed.

As in the case of the city family, it is likely that both mother and father will hold full-time work assignments on the farm. Each will be assigned to a work brigade, responsible for a particular aspect of farm production. These brigades vary in size, but often the personnel remains relatively stationary for years on the theory that team spirit and efficient work methods are developed. This is important in view of the intense competition that is stimulated between different brigades. We found the practice of so-called socialist emulation very much in evidence on the farms we visited, with the most successful brigade as well as the most successful individuals receiving special monthly recognition in the farm office and doubtless also in bonus payments. This competitive situation may not be appreciated by



## V

### *Down on the Farm*

The nature of tourist travel in the Soviet Union makes it easier to get acquainted with the life of city dwellers than with the life of peasants, who still make up some two-thirds of the Soviet population. In this respect our visit was no exception. We did spend four days on four widely scattered collective farms—two in Central Asia, one in the Penza region, and one near Minsk, in the Byelo-Russian Republic. In addition, we caught a glimpse of countless others from our low-flying airplanes. On the basis of these scattered observations we realize the need for caution in attempting to pass judgment on Soviet agriculture, but we did get an acquaintance with some of the problems of rural life in the Soviet Union, and we shall attempt to share it here.

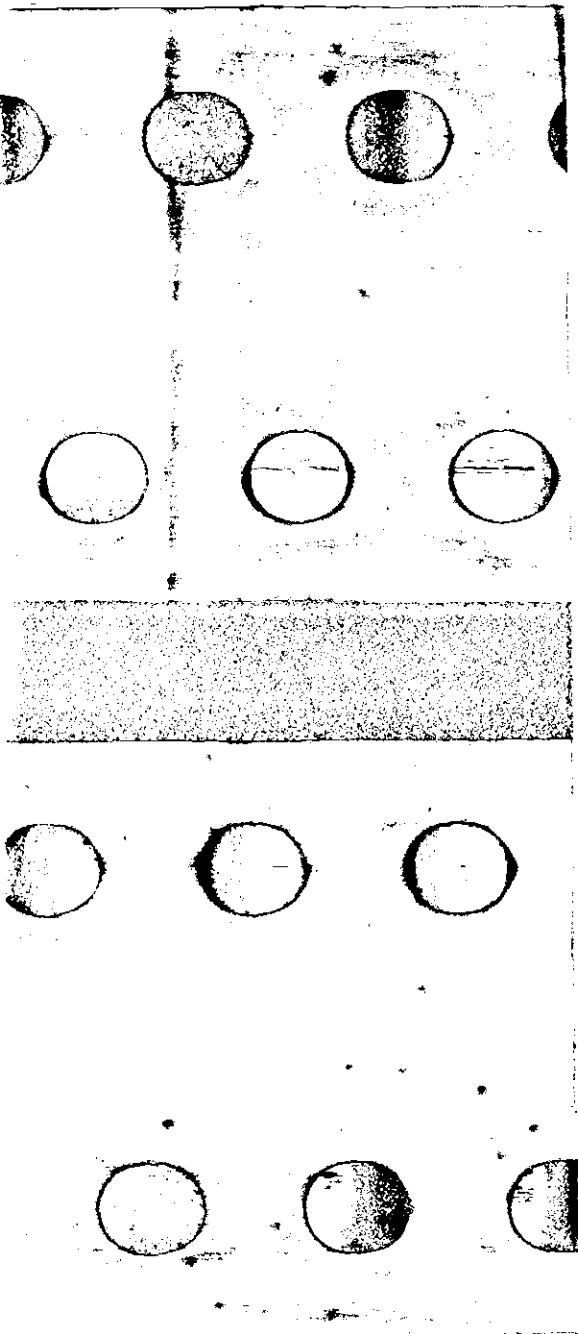
While the Soviet farm family has some advantages over its city counterpart, we found the farmers' position generally worse than that of the workers. The Soviet economy is geared to favor the industrial worker, and the government's determination to provide him with low-cost food means that the farmer is relatively disadvantaged. Although we doubtless saw farms that were above average in quality, we can understand why unrest is said to focus in the agricultural areas of the Soviet Union. Historically it was the peasant who felt the whiplash of Communist rule most heavily when he resisted Stalin's program of collectivized large-scale farming, and while most of the bitterness of this earlier era has passed, there remains the economic pressure that stems from the inadequate return for his required service on the collective.

The farm family has the advantage of an individual house of its own, and there is not the necessity of sharing kitchen facilities with other families, which must be a vexing part of life in the city. On the other hand, the farmer must in most cases carry water from a community pump, his plumbing arrangements are primitive, and he usually lacks almost every other modern convenience. In these respects, of course, he has plenty of company among the farmers of other lands, both East and West, though his generally cold winters make his hardships severe.



bureaucracy. We knew that Penza had a number of small industries, mainly for the production of such consumer goods as bicycles, clocks, textiles and paper, and for the processing of food for local use. Our hope was to visit these, confident that the experience of our marketing economist would help to provide us with an insight into their operation and their role in the life of the community. We therefore began our stay in town with a call on the president of the Penza City Council, hoping that he would help us make the arrangements and provide us in addition with the kind of contacts that we knew an American mayor could make for visitors to his town. The president was a nervous, impatient executive who greeted us with the distant courtesy that we had come to associate by now with Soviet officials (in contrast to the open-hearted friendliness of unofficial Russians). He seemed to betray his consciousness of our origin in the outer world of capitalism and his uncertainty—for want of directives from higher authorities—about our status in the Soviet Union. The only things he was able to arrange for us to visit were the hospital, a school and one collective farm. In spite of all our vigorous efforts throughout our five days in Penza we did not succeed in visiting a single industrial establishment or in arranging an interview with a single other leader in the life of the town. Even our literary purpose in choosing Penza rather than some other provincial town came to nought; William Edgerton tried throughout our stay to get permission to visit Leskov's village of Raiskoe, which was only 25 miles distant, but his efforts failed. Perhaps it is symbolic that the name Raiskoe is derived from the Russian word for Paradise. Certainly we never reached it and for us it became Paradise Lost.

Despite the feeling of frustration it gave us, our very failure to accomplish what we had set out to do in Penza was instructive and valuable. We have no evidence that it was due to any deliberate effort to obstruct our purposes or to any ill will on the part of the Russians. We are inclined to believe rather that it was due to those very elements in the Soviet system that have already led us in our introduction to compare it to an army: centralization, authoritarianism, bureaucratic red tape and a pervasive consciousness of military security. Without proper clearance from "the center" (as Moscow is termed by the Russians), the only safe thing for Penza officials to do about the various requests we made was—as little as possible. That is the hallowed principle that has made bureaucracies act like bureaucracies ever since the invention of red tape.

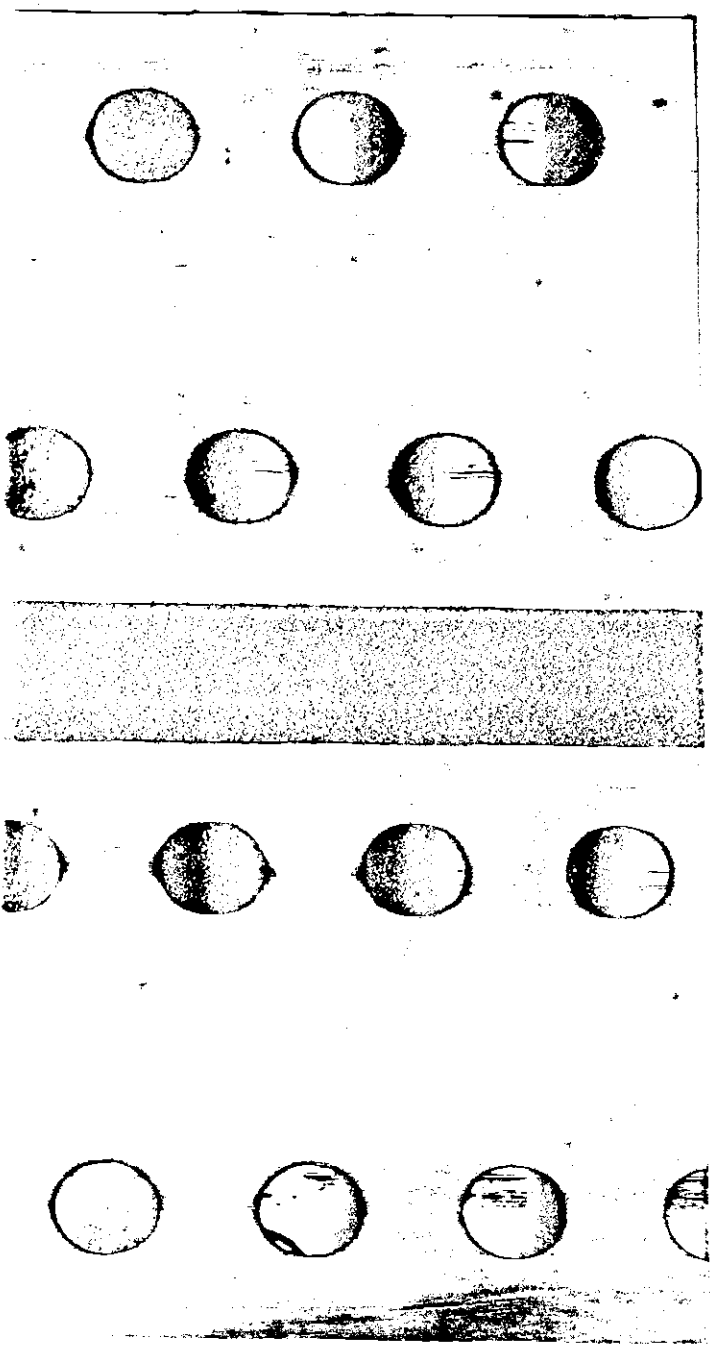


tion, a planetarium, the characteristic Russian parachute tower and enough wooded park space to accommodate up to 20,000 persons on holidays, according to the park director. We visited a movie theater as guests of the cordial woman manager, joining an attentive crowd of Russians in seeing an excellent color dramatization of Chekhov's story "The Grasshopper." We visited the provincial hospital and had an interview with the director, whose communicativeness—like that of so many of the other Soviet officials we met—seemed to be tempered by his uncertainty about our status. One of our members with a mild intestinal disorder was given a thorough examination by three of the hospital doctors, whose warm-hearted Russian friendliness was as impressive as their professional skill and thoroughness. The hospital looked clean, well-run, and fairly modern, if simple. We were told that more than half of the medical staff were women—a proportion that is characteristic of the whole Soviet medical profession.

#### *Cultural Facilities*

Besides its parks, the cultural life of Penza includes a sizable theater across a side street from our hotel, in which a play by Gorki was running during our visit; three movie houses; a permanent circus building; the Kirov House of Culture; the Dzerzhinski Club; and two public libraries, one of which has 287,000 books. (As in all Soviet libraries, however, the catalogs used by the public lists only those books which are officially approved.) While we were in town the local daily newspaper, the *Stalin Banner*, devoted two-thirds of a page to advertisements of the fall terms of the various institutions of higher education in the province. Among them were a teachers' college, a music school, a school of pharmacy, a combined art school and training school for leaders of Young Pioneers (the Communist youth organization), a technical high school, a veterinary school, a school of commerce, a school for deaf mutes, a school for retarded children and a school of the building trades. In addition the newspaper included advertisements of a school for club workers and an institute of economics in neighboring provinces and the advertisements of two Penza factories for apprentices.

The five days we spent in Penza were instructive not only for what we were able to see there of provincial Russian life but even more for what we were not able to see. The systematic survey we had hoped to make did not prove feasible, largely because the relatively impotent status of Intourist provided inadequate leverage for breaking through the inertia of Soviet



the Prince. Three funerals on three successive days moved down Moscow Street past our hotel windows, with flowers and banners preceding an open casket and a dignified brass band bringing up the rear. A milk store across the street served a line of women each morning, turning away at least once the last few customers, their half-gallon pails empty, and closing its doors long before noon.

As the first Americans anyone could remember ever having seen in Penza we naturally attracted a good deal of attention wherever we went. At the big town market, thanks to Wroe Alderson's Polaroid camera, which produced finished snapshots in sixty seconds, we came close to bringing the town's economic life to a standstill; and the alarmed local policeman took our Russian-speaking member aside to find out just who we were and what we were up to. Incidentally, the Penza market, crowded with peasants and produce, was a barometer by which we could judge food supply and transportation. It was clear that the Penza housewife had far less difficulty in providing her family with an adequate diet than the housewife in Moscow.

Throughout our five days in Penza we met with innumerable examples of the same simple, unaffected friendliness and hospitality that we found wherever we traveled. We were given the best rooms in the town hotel, one of which had a private bath; and the hotel manager personally supervised the serving of our first meal in the parlor of the suite that was assigned to two members of our group. We varied our customary hotel fare by taking several meals at the Volga, the town's best restaurant, where the food and the service were equally good and the gracious proprietress treated us more like friends of the family than customers. Promptly at eight o'clock every evening the diners at the Volga would be entertained with a four-piece ensemble, consisting of a piano, accordion, violin and horn, which played Russian favorites and an occasional American dance tune of the 1920's or early 1930's. On our first visit to the restaurant we found to our dismay that our attractive and solicitous waitress had reserved a whole section of the crowded dining room for us, but when we protested against this well-meaning favoritism, the other tables in our section were promptly made available to Russians.

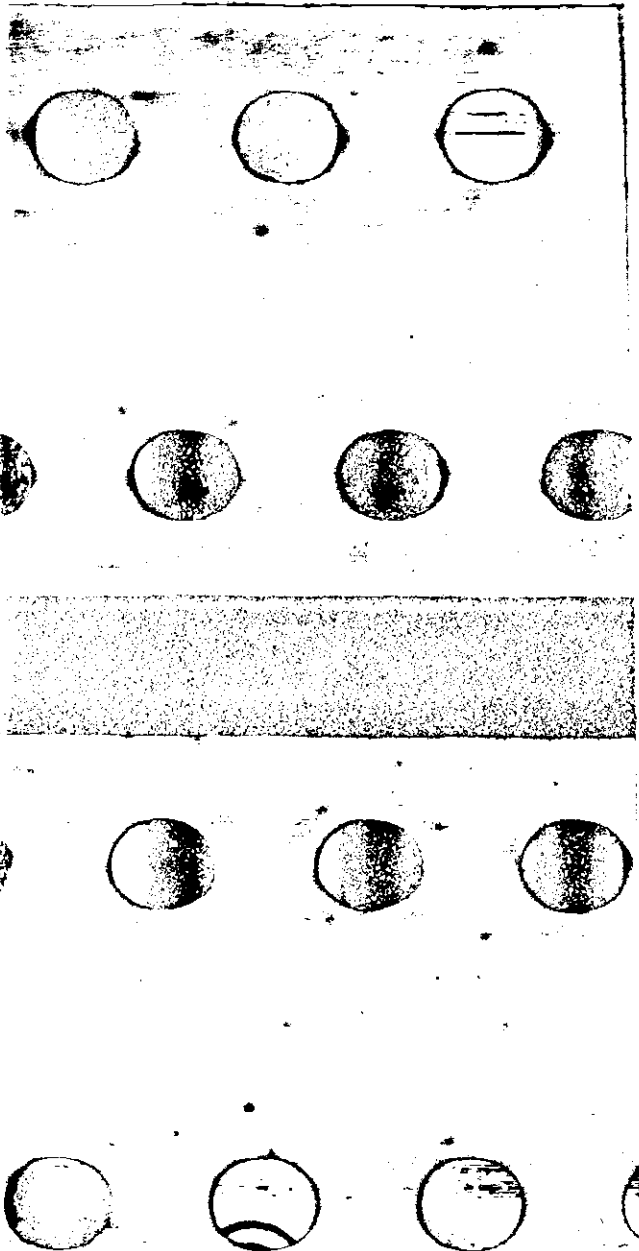
We were able to wander about the town at will, and our tours included several parks. Most were small with only grass and trees, a statue and a few ever-filled benches. The large Belinski Park of Culture and Rest, however, included a soccer stadium, an outdoor theater, a library, a special children's sec-

clysms of Russian history as the invasion of Napoleon and Hitler, and it apparently weathered the Soviet Revolution and the subsequent civil war with somewhat less turmoil than many other towns in Russia. The local public library is named for the great poet Lermontov, who was born in the province; and the public square across the street from our hotel contained a statue of Vissarion Belinski, Russia's first great literary critic, who was born in the region and went to school in Penza. The regional museum calls attention to the fact that the father of Lenin once lived in the town and taught school there.

#### ***Big Small Town***

Present-day Penza may have a population of as much as 175,000. According to the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, the count was 157,200 in the census of 1939, but no Penza official would commit himself about the population of the town today. Despite its size, in atmosphere it reminded us of a typical American country town of the early 1920's with a tenth of Penza's population. The stores held much the same goods as those of the showy sort in Moscow, and at the same fixed prices. The leading department store was always crowded; and as we walked through its aisles and looked at the arrangement of its goods, several of us were carried back in memory to the general country stores of our childhood. The unpainted log houses that marked the older parts of the town were reminiscent, too, of an earlier American era. An occasional independent merchant was to be seen on the streets, one of them selling handkerchiefs in uncut lengths. When a member of our group attempted a picture of this bit of free enterprise, he was berated soundly by a passer-by who thought the crowd around the handkerchief salesman was a queue and evidently felt we were seeking to photograph a blighted side of Soviet life. He insisted that this did not represent what the Russians were striving for. Obviously Russians, like Americans, prefer to be judged by their ideals rather than their reality. And Russians, like Americans, tend to judge other societies by their reality rather than their ideals.

The main street of Penza, called Moscow Street, was a never-ending source of interest to us. The shady side of the street was crowded with leisurely throngs of pedestrians all day long (Penza summers are hot), and both sides were crowded throughout the evening. Motor traffic was light and, apart from the very good system of trolley-busses, consisted chiefly of trucks. Horse-drawn wagons were practically as numerous as passenger cars and reminded us of Penza's role in the agricultural life of



#### IV

### *Main Street, U.S.S.R.*

Before entering the Soviet Union we had considered the possibility of living for a week or two in a relatively small community in European Russia while we surveyed its facilities, its economy, its attitudes and its problems. The idea appealed to us for two reasons. First, it would enable us to observe Soviet life in a setting far removed from the bustling cosmopolitan atmosphere of a great city like Moscow and would thus add another dimension to our understanding of the Russian scene. Second, we saw a small-town survey as perhaps the best method of gaining insight into the dynamics of Soviet society: the relations between governors and governed, the economics of distribution, the interaction of government agencies, the role of the Party, and so forth. This was our aim. In practice we were able to carry it out only in part.

We wanted to select an "average" provincial town that was well off the beaten path of foreign tourists. The town of Buzuluk, lying about 100 miles east of Kuibishev in the province of Samara, was our first choice, because Friends had centered their relief work there in the 1920's. However, we were told that Buzuluk was in the midst of an agricultural fair and had no room for foreign tourists—an excuse that we accepted as valid after a closer acquaintance with Russia's great housing problem. Our second choice then fell on the town of Penza, some 400 miles southeast of Moscow. Penza was selected because it appeared to meet our general specifications as to size and location and because it was in a region associated with the name of Nikolai Leskov, the Nineteenth Century Russian novelist in whom one of our group had a keen literary interest. Intourist appeared somewhat skeptical of our project, but arranged for accommodations and on June 15 we made the three-hour flight from Moscow to Penza, landing on the unpaved runway about six o'clock in the evening.

Penza is a provincial capital. Besides being an important railroad junction, it is an administrative and trading center for that agricultural area, and it has several small industries. The town dates back to 1666 and is noticeably proud of its past even though it has had a relatively quiet one. It escaped such cata-

cars, too, are largely in government and ~~air~~ service, but a few of the most favored Soviet citizens can afford to own them privately at the price of 40,000 rubles. Much more reasonably priced is the Pobeda, which resembles a lightweight Chevrolet of about 1949 and may be had for 16,000 rubles—about 2 months' pay for the average worker. This is the most popular family car, and enough Russians are in a position to afford one that it requires a year's wait after payment before delivery can be expected. A smaller car, the Moskvich, may be purchased for only 9,000 rubles, but its small size apparently makes it somewhat less attractive to the Russian family. Gasoline prices are high, but by European standards not exorbitant—averaging around 90 kopeks a liter (about 40 cents a gallon) and available at 73 kopeks for those possessing a special gasoline card.

#### *The Car-less Family*

The Soviet city family without a car finds most of its recreation close to home. A worker's factory or his union will probably have in connection with it a "house of culture," and here he and his family can attend concerts and plays. During the summer months the parks are crowded with families enjoying their day of rest. Occasionally a movie or a visit to the Dynamo Stadium for an international soccer match might be a possibility, but costs would keep these outings to a minimum, at least on a family basis.

In summary, it is our impression that everyday life for the city family in the Soviet Union is hard but not unbearable. To make it more acceptable, the first requirement is an enormous expansion in building construction so that the worker and his family may enjoy even a minimum standard of decency instead of having to live huddled together in a single room.

Many other improvements in everyday life are closely bound up with the availability of more iron and steel for civilian uses. Food resources could be distributed more cheaply, more plentifully and more efficiently if more refrigeration facilities and railroad rolling stock could be provided. The deplorable plumbing situation depends for its solution on the production of more pipe. Reduced clothing prices await an expanded textile industry, which in turn means more spinners and more looms. Consumer goods such as refrigerators and washing machines are still priced beyond the reach of the average Soviet family, and these too will not be available to ease the life of the housewife until ways can be found to get more steel into the production of consumer goods.

ents are geared to earnings and length of service, however, so that there is a premium on productivity and stability.

Nor is transportation a serious problem for the city dweller. We were impressed by the quantity and quality of public transport available in all the Soviet cities we visited, with the exception of Akmolinsk. The trolley-bus and the trolley-car are at least as common as city busses, and the fares on all three are moderate, ranging from 20 to 50 kopeks, according to the distance traveled. Our average worker could thus cover his daily commuting costs with 10 to 20 minutes' work. In Moscow, of course, he has the choice of the famous subway system, with a fare of 50 kopeks (half a ruble) and excellent service, to say nothing of the marble and alabaster stations, the indirect lighting and the vaulted ceilings of this most sumptuous of underground railroads.

The Soviet Union is not yet truly in the automobile age, but we found it moving more rapidly toward it than we had supposed. Truck traffic still predominates and provides evidence that the nation is still in the building stage. Trucks are everywhere. Almost all are of Soviet production, but a few old United States Army "six-by-six" vehicles dating from lend-lease days are still to be seen. Within the cities, however, there is a rising tide of passenger automobiles, many of them privately owned; and we feel the day is coming when Soviet planners will regret their failure to provide for parking facilities in their city-planning programs.

Autos are not yet within the range of the average worker, but we found the smaller models being acquired by second and third-echelon management. They doubtless are also available to the more successful workers of the Stakhanovite group. There are a half-dozen different car models, but of these only four are in common use. Most expensive and luxurious is the ZIS, which is not on private sale and is reserved exclusively for government use and taxi service. This car is built with dies purchased some years ago from the Packard Motor Company, so that the Soviet Union is the only place in the world where one can now buy a brand new 1941 Packard. Model changes are not made yearly, as in the United States, and the only concession to progress that we noted was the two-tone paint styles that mark late production.

Right behind the ZIS is the ZIM,\* a large Russian-designed car similar in style and appearance to the 1949 Buick. These

\* ZIS and ZIM—Abbreviations for "Factory named for Stalin" and "Factory named for Molotov."

Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, and we note similar shops in Kiev, Stalingrad, Minsk and Tashkent.

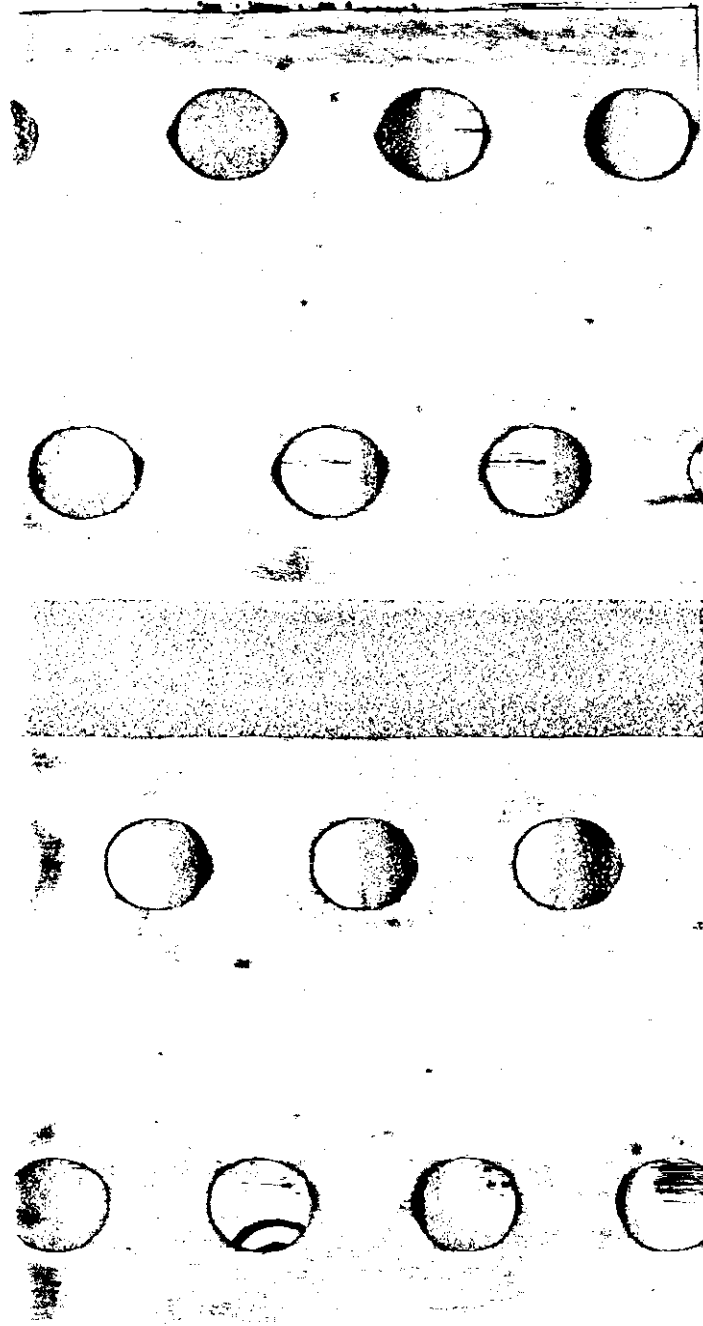
Those of us who had hoped to return home with samples of beautiful Russian embroidery and handicrafts were discouraged by the prices, which were quite beyond our reach because of the artificial exchange rate given to the Soviet ruble. Embroidered blouses of any quality, for example, began (for us) at 65 dollars. Our dismay at these prices led to our acquaintance with another widespread Soviet institution, the commission store, through which anybody—including foreigners—can sell his belongings at authorized prices in return for an authorized commission. All over Moscow there are numerous commission stores, each specializing in the sale of a particular kind of goods such as men's clothing, women's clothing, furniture or jewelry. By utilizing these facilities, we were able to get handsome ruble returns for our own clothing and to use the proceeds to purchase embroidered blouses and other desired items.

#### *Schools and Clinics*

Food, shelter and clothing are the primary problems in the life of the city worker. In other areas of life we found things reasonably well taken care of—indeed, better off budgetwise in some ways than his Western counterpart. His children are assured of ten years of schooling. Tuition is free for the first seven years and low (if there is any charge at all) for the last three, and school supplies and books are so heavily subsidized that education is not a drain on the family budget. The same is true of medical service. A widespread system of free clinics is available to all, and the only cost to the Soviet family is a small charge for medicines. If private consultations are desired they are available on a fee basis. Charges are five rubles for consultation with a general practitioner and ten for a specialist—reasonable fees, it would appear, for an economy in which the average worker earns about four rubles an hour. In Leningrad it appeared that the private services were being better utilized than the free clinics.

The Soviet family also enjoys extensive coverage under the non-contributory social security program. The system is largely administered by the labor unions and provides for maternity and accident benefits as well as retirement income. The Soviet worker qualifies for retirement at the age of 60, but if he is capable of continuing to work he may do so, receiving a portion of his retirement benefits in addition to his normal factory pay. Pay





apparel. Whatever the reason, we noted a predominance of browns and blacks and a shabbiness that seemed to disappear the farther south we moved. The brightest and most cheerful clothing we saw anywhere was in Tashkent and Alma Ata—which, significantly, are cotton-producing regions, with textile mills playing an important role in the local economy. This suggested to us that regional officials tended very naturally to favor their own people in distribution schedules despite the existence of carefully worked-out merchandizing plans for the Soviet Union as a whole.

As is true in most cultures, Soviet children are provided with the best while their parents do with second best. The children in Leningrad, particularly, were wearing coats, often with embroidery, that appeared to be newer and of better quality than those we saw on older people. In warmer climates we noticed less difference except for footwear. Children everywhere wore better shoes than their parents. As for infants' wear, Russian custom still demands a superabundance of clothes. We found the babies typically swathed in blankets and sweaters to the point where only their noses peeped out even in the warm June weather.

Most women in the cities go without hats, and those who wear them would often be better off bareheaded if Western styles are used as a basis for judgment. Much more common than hats, even in cities, is the familiar kerchief tied around the head. The prevailing summer headgear for men, when any is worn at all, is the flat Russian cap rather than a hat.

It is not surprising that dresses and coats lack style, that shoes are often made of artificial leather and that Russian men commonly seem to wear ill-fitting shirts, when one discovers the cost of clothing. We estimated, on the basis of clothing prices in a number of Moscow stores, that even a rather poor pair of shoes would cost seven or eight days' pay from the wages of the average worker. A single-piece cotton print dress for his wife would mean a week's work; and a suit of clothes for himself, from one to two months' work. Men's work shirts of very poor quality could be had for 35 rubles—a day's pay—but shirts of better grade cost up to 250 rubles—more than a week's earnings for the average factory worker or clerk.

Quality clothing is available in the cities but is entirely out of the range of the average family income. In Moscow beautiful fur coats are on sale at the state department store on Red Square for 20,000 rubles, but we saw no purchasers. There are expensive dress shops in the neighborhood of the

At the Baptist minister's home in Tallinn this was unexpectedly supplemented by a large tray of ice cream in cones. It turned out that the minister's wife, upon hearing that ice cream was an American favorite, had dispatched one of her 14 children to purchase a generous supply so that her guests "would really feel at home." Although we had already eaten too much, we rose to the occasion and duly did justice to the ice cream. Incidentally, ice cream is as popular in the Soviet Union as in the United States and is sold everywhere from small white enameled pushcarts by white-aproned women—the Soviet equivalent of the American Good Humor man. The cost of a good-sized cone is two rubles—approximately 20 cents—but smaller quantities are available for less.

Needless to say, the sort of banquet we have described here is reserved for very special occasions. We always felt inadequate in our efforts to thank our hosts, but they would graciously overwhelm us still further by assuring us that they, not we, had been the ones honored. On one occasion a Baptist minister simply responded by quoting from the thirteenth chapter of Hebrews: "Let brotherly love continue. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares!"

#### *Clothing Expensive*

Clothing is the Soviet family's chief financial problem. All clothing is expensive because of short supplies, and the average family must sacrifice at many points to avoid presenting a shabby, ragged appearance. In general they succeed well, for we found city clothing for the most part to be clean, neat and adequate, though lacking in variety and style. Women's wear in June ran heavily to cotton in conventional flower prints, and was not notable for its fit or styling—at least by Western standards. The same might be said for men's wear, although the Westerner's feeling that it lacked style could be attributed in part to the Soviet preference for bell-bottomed trousers. Only at the opera and theater, where the choice seats were evidently filled by the élite of Soviet society, did we see clothing that looked chic and well cut.

In Leningrad we were struck by the drabness of the clothing we saw. This may have been due merely to the fact that we entered the Soviet Union by way of Leningrad, coming straight from vastly different Helsinki; but it may also have reflected Leningrad's peculiar economic situation, or the northern Soviet climate, which required more warmth in wearing

plots tended by the farmer in his spare time or by other members of his family, and he is free to sell the produce in the city markets for whatever it will bring. Moreover, most farmers prefer to be paid in kind for their regular work on the collective farm, because this produce, too, may be sold at the free market and the return is greater than the cash value of farm labor payments. Some of the best food we saw was in these small peasant stalls—and it was priced accordingly.

These methods of food distribution are far from efficient, and probably will remain so until better facilities are developed for transportation and refrigeration. The most extreme example we found of this inefficiency was the Caucasian peasant we met selling oranges in one of the Moscow farm markets. A member of an orange collective in the Georgian Republic, this man had taken pay for his accumulated work credits in the form of four crates of oranges. He had put his oranges in an airplane, flown a thousand miles to Moscow, was selling them in the free market, and planned to fly back to the Caucasus afterwards—with his profits. Considering his expenses, his price of 60 cents per orange was not exorbitant, but neither did it suggest mass consumption. (One of our group did notice some competition for our Georgian friend in the orange market: under the columned portico of the Lenin Library building another orange merchant, origin unknown, had set up shop with a set of portable scales and several crates of oranges bearing labels indicating that they had been imported all the way from Portugal and French Morocco.)

All of these difficulties in getting food do not prevent the Russian from entertaining lavishly on occasion. Indeed, we found them so hospitable that we were occasionally embarrassed by our failure to do justice to the huge banquets that were served to us when we were invited to dine in private homes. On these occasions the meal usually started with a profusion of cold dishes, including sausages, meat, black and red caviar, salads and fish, such as sprats and herring, prepared in oil. At first we made the mistake of assuming that this was the meal, and found ourselves scarcely able to cope with the even more elaborate courses that followed. Soup was usually the second course and was followed by a main dish of sturgeon, beef or poultry, sometimes prepared according to special regional recipes. Once we were completely overwhelmed to have this main dish followed by an ample serving of ham and eggs. The end of the meal would find the table laden with cakes, fruits, chocolates and nuts for dessert.

cans labeled in English, and learned that this was caviar originally prepared for export to the United States before the Cold War brought East-West trade to a standstill. Some of the stores also sell bottled champagne, wine and vodka, and constitute the principal source of alcoholic beverages since the closing of public drinking places in connection with the current campaign against alcoholism.

This description of state-store food stocks needs to be modified considerably to fit cities located in rich agricultural regions. In Kiev and Penza, for example, we found a wider variety of fresh foods for sale than in Stalingrad, which is located in a semi-arid region. This variation between cities provides graphic evidence of the way in which food distribution in the Soviet Union is complicated by the lack of adequate transport facilities.

An important secondary source of food for the city dweller is the collective farm markets that are found in every Soviet city. These markets are the outlet for the portion of farm produce that has not been sold to the state at low fixed prices. The collectives take their food to the large open-air markets in trucks supplied by the state at reasonable rates and sell it at prices considerably above state-store prices—sometimes as much as two or three times higher. Here the city dweller can find good supplies of fresh food, but unless several members of the family work, the average family cannot afford to buy heavily. For example, we noted that beefsteak was selling at the 26 collective farm markets that are scattered over Moscow at the equivalent of about \$1.40 a pound. Fish was 60 cents a pound, eggs 15 cents each, flour 50 cents a pound and carrots 35 cents a pound. Figuring the value of the ruble at the same rate—10 cents—the earnings of the average worker or clerk are only \$80 a month. This shows the difficulty the city housewife has in providing her family with a varied diet, and explains the statistical increase in the consumption of bread and grain products that American economists have noted as an indication of an approaching agricultural crisis in the Soviet Union.

#### *Private Marketing*

An additional feature of the collective farm markets is the small peasant stalls where individual farmers may sell their own produce. More than 99 percent of all Soviet farms are collectivized, but the members of the collectives are permitted to have small plots of land for their own use. We found these varying in size from a third of an acre to an acre and a half in the various parts of the Soviet Union that we visited. These

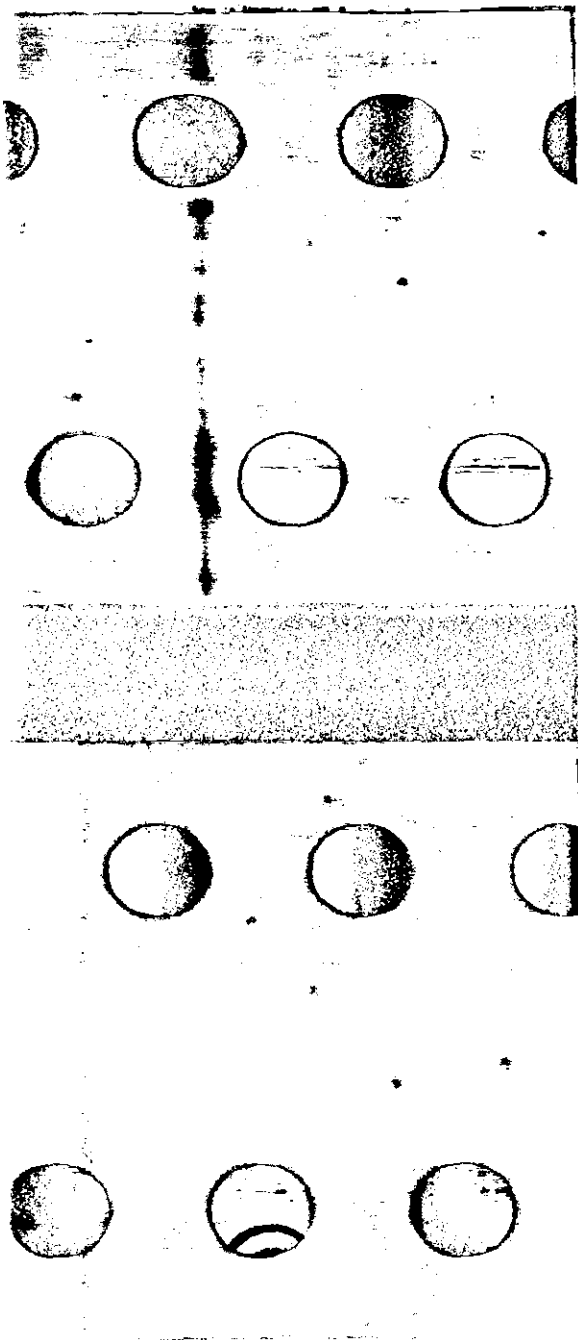
as being based more on the Soviet ideal than on Soviet reality, if we may judge by such Soviet newspaper articles as the recent one in *Izvestia* exposing the Smolensk bureaucrat who was transferred to Moscow in 1953 and left his Smolensk apartment in charge of his grown daughter, who was said to rent part of it at a high price. "This case is not unique," added *Izvestia*.

#### Food Supply

We found the study of diet and food distribution one of the most revealing and absorbing aspects of our whole observation of Soviet living standards. An examination of the food supply problems of the city worker clearly shows the way in which the national economy operates to benefit the worker at the expense of the farmer, and offers further insight into the price the Soviet citizen pays for his government's preoccupation with heavy industry and arms production.

The primary source of foodstuffs in the cities is the state store, or *gastronom*. Food in these stores is very cheap and reflects the fixed government policy of holding down living costs. The collective farms are required to sell a substantial proportion of their produce to the state at prices considerably below free-market values. While this policy makes possible cheap food in the cities and insures substantial government income in the form of a turnover tax, it is also bound to be one of the important factors in the unrest that has been persistently reported from rural sections of the Soviet Union and that was reflected in the government agricultural policies of the Malenkov period.

Even though the state stores provide the city worker with a source of cheap food, they by no means provide him with a solution to his food problems, particularly if he lives in one of the larger cities. Inadequate facilities for transportation and refrigeration place severe limits upon the variety of food available in the state stores. In Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad, for example, we noted that state stores offered few fresh vegetables and even less fresh fruit. Meat and dairy products were available, but the customer had to stand in queues to get them, and the supplies were sometimes exhausted before all were served. The scarcity of these items is emphasized by the state-store window displays, which consist of dummy meats and dairy products, considerably deficient in the socialist realism that is the official watchword of Soviet art. In general, the state stores provide a good supply of canned foods including some meat and fish products as well as vegetables, fruits and jams. In one state store in Moscow we saw a sizable stock of Russian caviar in



—more serious because it seems to be a defect inherent in the Soviet system and therefore difficult to eradicate. The system is so highly centralized and bureaucratized that competition plays a very insignificant role as an incentive to the improvement of the quality of production. Apart from propaganda efforts to arouse a sense of social responsibility in the worker, the chief incentive he has is the piecework system of payments with its bonuses for "overfulfilling" the norms established for each job. This system emphasizes quantity rather than quality, and the effects are to be seen throughout Soviet production, but nowhere more clearly than in building construction. We saw a school building in Penza that had been completed only one year but was already undergoing major repairs at the time of our visit. We saw numerous examples of serious deterioration in buildings that had been standing no more than two or four years.

#### *No Suburban Life*

There seems to be virtually no parallel in the Soviet Union to the suburban developments that are found in Western countries. Even on the outskirts of Moscow the new living quarters one sees under construction are not single houses standing on their own plots of ground, but are huge apartment buildings where hundreds of families will be crowded almost as closely together as if they lived in the center of the city. One is tempted to see this as a further manifestation of the philosophy of collectivism that dominates all Soviet life.

An exception among the cities we visited was Stalin, where small individual stucco houses of a modern type are built in considerable numbers on the outskirts of the city. These houses are individually owned, and most of them are financed by loans from a government agency set up for the purpose. (The ground they stand on, however, like all land in the Soviet Union, belongs to the state and is leased to the owners of the houses.)

Another type of private home, which is obviously for a better-situated rather than the average worker, is the dacha or summer cottage, which may be located in the country a few miles from a major city or in some distant resort area, such as the Crimea. Privately owned houses may be bought and sold or rented. When we asked an Intourist guide what kept Soviet citizens from buying more than one house and renting the extra ones as a source of income, we received the reply, "Why should anybody want more than one house?" This answer struck

about 56, persons have been housed in this single development.

In the large apartment houses heating is from central plants. Smaller units are frequently heated with wood or coal. Cooking in Moscow is done either by gas or on electric hot plates (according to the Soviet press gas was installed in 34,000 Moscow apartments in 1954), but wood and coal are more common in the smaller towns. We were not impressed with the floor plans of even the newest apartments, and unfortunately the almost total lack of structural steel in housing construction does not permit the large windows and airy apartments that characterize modern Western-type buildings.

Besides the lack of steel for building purposes, which presents architectural problems, Soviet construction labors under other difficulties. The work force is largely inexperienced, and men and women must learn their trade while practising it. We visited one Moscow couple who had moved into their apartment in a tremendous new housing development on the edge of the city while the apartment building next door was still under construction. Our hosts pointed to a window in their living room and told us that the inexperienced operator of a construction crane had made a mistake one day and knocked the window out. The construction foreman apologized and had the window replaced at once. Then the same thing happened once more a few days later. Our hosts declared that when they dashed out and complained to the foreman again, he apologetically explained: "Well, you see, we figured that if it had to happen, it was better for it to happen where we had already gotten acquainted!"

The devastation and enormous loss of life produced by World War II has placed such a premium on construction workers that almost anyone is acceptable for employment. Posters may still be seen in various parts of the country advertising this need and listing the rewards available to the recruit. In one of Moscow's poorer sections, for example, we found a poster calling for workers to "help construct Moscow and other cities" and offering (1) a bonus of 150 to 600 rubles to help a family get settled in the new place of work, (2) travel expenses, (3) 10 to 15 rubles of spending money for each day's travel to the new location and (4) guaranteed housing at the scene of construction, with "all the necessary furnishings, including a bed." With such large numbers of unskilled laborers on the job it is not surprising that quality does not keep pace with quantity.

There is, however, a still more serious cause of poor quality

needs to apply less than five percent of his monthly pay for occupancy of a room 13 feet square (which unfortunately provides much living space as many are able to get). Kitchen and plumbing facilities are rent-free. Theoretically, the worker is allocated 9 square meters of space for each person in his family at a subsidized rate of 18 rubles a month. This would mean that a family of five is entitled to 45 square meters at a total rent of 90 rubles, or about 11 percent of an average worker's monthly income of 800 rubles. Since housing is at such a premium, however, it is the rare worker who enjoys such spacious quarters or has to pay such a high proportion of his monthly earnings for shelter.

The shortage of living accommodations is by no means accepted without complaint by the city dweller. Indeed, it seems to us that public dissatisfaction in housing matters was more vigorously manifested than in any other area of daily life. It places considerable pressure on the authorities to speed up housing; and we have found numerous criticisms in the Soviet press of the construction organizations responsible for the work, such as the accusation that one construction trust had taken three years and a half to put up one four-story house and seven years to build another.

It is significant that the loudest laughs we heard at a Moscow circus were in response to a housing joke. One clown rushed to the center of the circus ring shouting that he had just written a book.

"What about?" asked a second clown.

"Boy meets girl," said the first.

"Ah, a story!"

"They fall in love."

"A romance!"

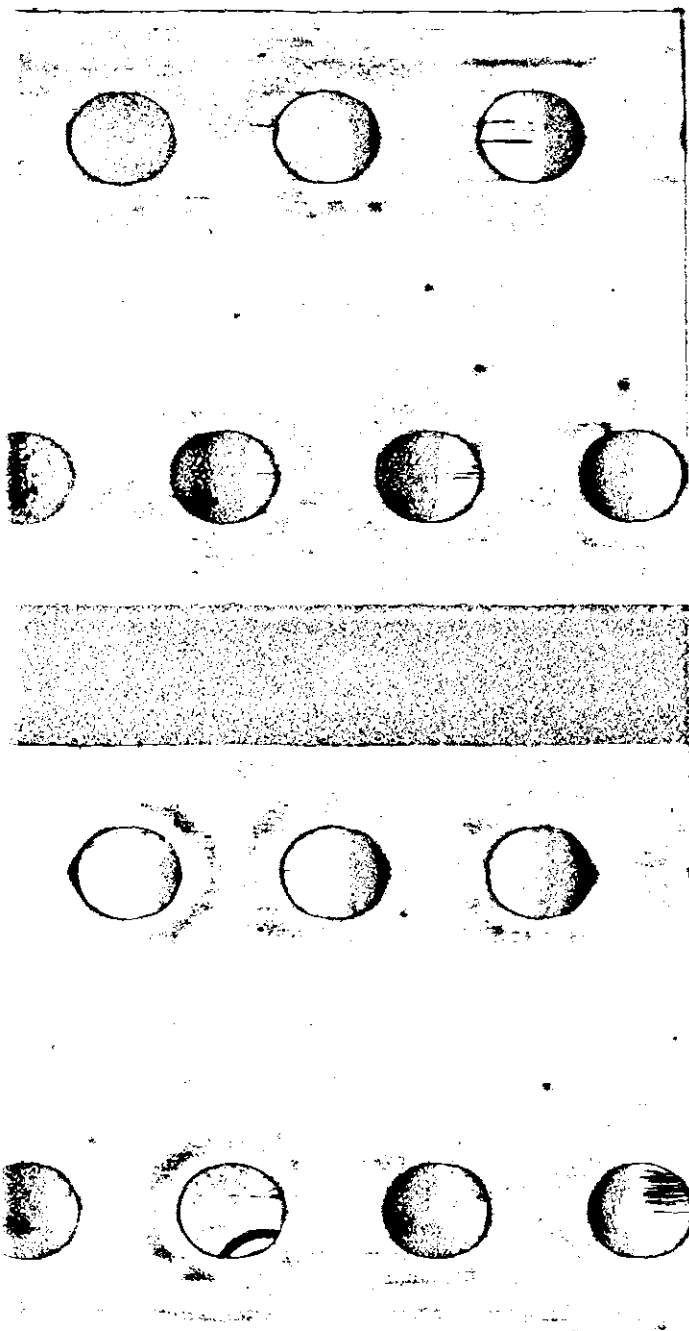
"They get married and find an apartment."

"A fable!"

### **Industrial Financing**

While the supervision of housing is a responsibility of the city councils, much of the actual construction is undertaken and financed by industrial enterprises, which are permitted by the governing ministry to allocate funds from corporation income to build apartments and other facilities for their own workers. At a new textile mill in Tashkent, for example, we found rather good company housing provided for 70 percent of its labor force of 20,000 men; which means, when families are added in, that





new factories and schools and stores built and 750,000 people rehoused. The visitor cannot fail to be impressed by this massive operation, and we found it impossible to move in any direction even today without the constant presence of the cranes and trucks that bear witness to the continuing effort.

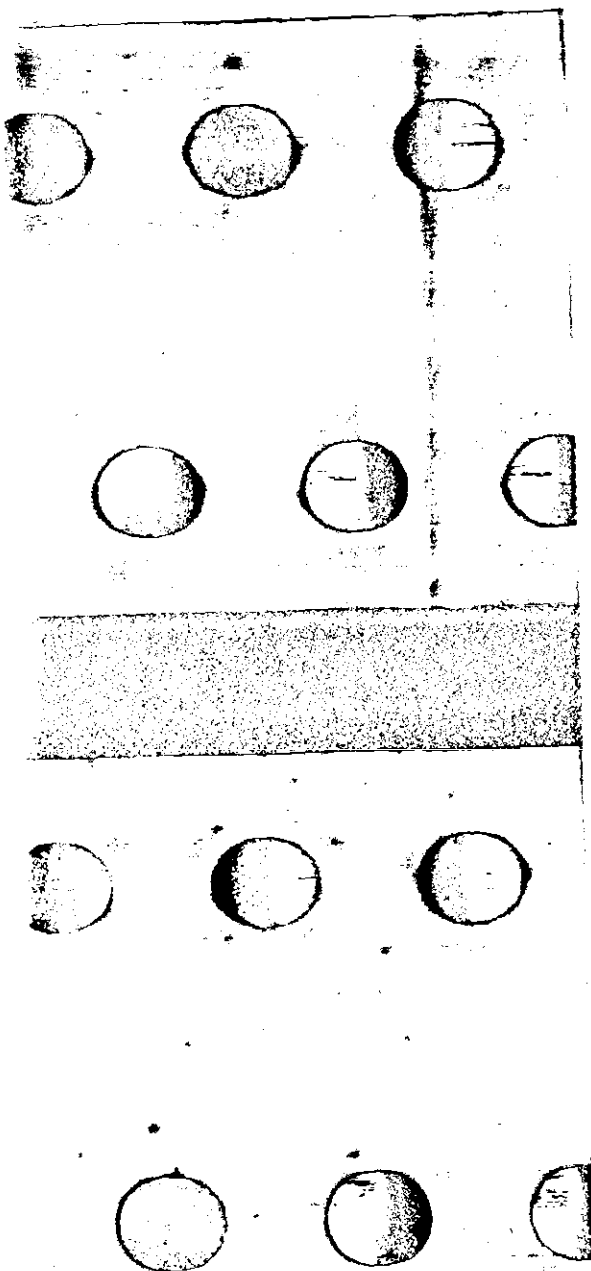
In contrast to this, the inhabitants of Moscow and Leningrad appear to be less favored. According to *Izvestia*, 910,000 square meters of living space were completed in Moscow in 1954, and 1,000,000 square meters were planned for 1955. While the figure for 1955 is said to be four times the space produced for Moscow in 1948, we estimate that it would comprise only about 33,000 new dwelling units, which is little more than enough to keep up with the population growth, according to the figures we were given.

#### *New Housing Stressed*

As we walked about the streets of Moscow we were often surprised to look through the archway of a large new apartment house and see a row of dilapidated, tumble-down tenement houses on the other side of the inner courtyard. These are the scenes that have often made foreign tourists bring back totally contradictory reports of what they saw in Moscow. Some of them, it would appear, saw only the new apartment houses, and others saw only the slums. Actually both are there in full view. Our impression was that the Soviet authorities were putting virtually all their housing funds into new apartments rather than diverting any sizable part of their funds for the repair of older buildings that were due to be replaced eventually anyhow.

If a clerk or worker is dispossessed by a new development, or if he is living in condemned housing, or if he is overcrowded even by Soviet standards, he will have priority on a new apartment. Otherwise, the chances are that he will have to stay where he is for a very long time. We tried to find out whether "connections" or bribes could influence the allocation of new housing. This was firmly denied, but since returning home we have come across several articles in the Soviet newspapers exposing this very kind of favoritism. It would indeed be difficult to imagine that favoritism and graft could be entirely prevented in a situation where the pressures are so great that apartment buildings can be seen to be fully occupied before the construction crews have finished applying the exterior facing.

Although the city dweller has this enormous housing problem, it is entirely a problem of shortage and not of finance. All rental housing is heavily subsidized, so that the average worker



### III

## Soviet City Lights

Undoubtedly the most serious problem for the city dweller is adequate living quarters. All the cities we visited, whether large and cosmopolitan like Moscow or small and provincial like Penza, had a housing shortage that dwarfs similar problems in Western Europe or America. This shortage has many causes of which population growth, war devastation, an unskilled labor force and the priority given by the government to the expansion of heavy industry are probably the most important. As a result, today's city worker may well have to live with his family in a single room, sharing kitchen facilities with several other families. In smaller towns like Penza and Akmolinsk he probably also has the added problem of carrying all his water from a distant pump.

In ancient "wooden" Russia the log house was the typical form of dwelling, and to this day much of wooden Russia is still to be seen in the outlying sections of Moscow and in many provincial towns. In Penza, for example, we had only to walk two or three blocks away from the main street in order to find ourselves surrounded by ancient and often picturesque wooden houses standing in rows behind their wooden fences that line the dirt streets. The present trend wherever we traveled, however, is to replace these log houses with massive apartment buildings six or seven stories high, constructed of brick and reinforced concrete with a facing designed to resemble stone.

In war-devastated Stalingrad and Minsk we found astonishing progress in reconstruction. Both cities have arisen from the rubble of World War II in a decade, and new housing is available for a large part of the population. According to figures we read in the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*, 120,000 square meters of living space, comprising about 4000 apartments, were due to be constructed in Stalingrad in 1955. (This means, incidentally, that the average size of these apartments was 30 square meters or a space about 10 feet wide and 30 feet long.) Minsk, the capital of Byelo-Russia, had a population of about a million people in 1940. When the war ended, 85 percent of it was in ruins, and in the decade that has elapsed, 85 percent of it has been rebuilt. New streets have been laid out, new parks created,

wage an apprentice worker was 350 rubles, and in Moscow we learned that the rector of the university receives 12,000 rubles a month, or almost 35 times as much. This is roughly equivalent to the difference in earnings between the office boy and the president of an American corporation.

There are, however, some important qualifications to comparisons of this kind. First, the number of persons in the "comfortable" income brackets in the Soviet Union would be relatively much smaller, and the number in the lower income brackets much larger. This difference is even more striking when one realizes that the Soviet income tax has a maximum of only 13 per cent, as compared to the American maximum in the highest income brackets of 91 per cent. Second, it is important to remember that the Soviet citizen does not compare his lot with that of his American counterpart, of whom he knows nothing, but rather with the lot of his own father and grandfather. For this reason, any analysis of Soviet problems and living standards that is based primarily on comparisons between the United States and the Soviet Union is somewhat irrelevant.

It will be abundantly evident in what follows that Soviet living standards are far below American standards, though we do not feel that this comparison in itself can be taken to mean the "failure" of the Soviet system. We propose to confine ourselves here to generalizations about living standards based upon what we saw in large cities, in one typical provincial town in which we spent five days and on collective farms. In estimating wages and prices we assume a ruble value of 10 cents, because this appears to us to be a closer approximation to its real worth than the artificial value of 25 cents that the Soviet government assigns to it for exchange purposes.

and time and time again we were told by dissidents as supporters of the regime, that things are now better than they were a few years ago. (No one ever specifically said that they were before Stalin's death.)"

Virtually everywhere we found immense pride in the achievements of their government—a pride that is all the greater because most Soviet citizens have no means of comparing their achievements with those of other countries. This pride is no more apparent than in the realm of their educational achievement. Indeed, the satisfaction felt by the Russian people in the new opportunity for education is one point where government policy has won an endorsement that far exceeds the previous acceptance previously referred to. It has been necessary to educate the masses in order to carry out industrialization and build support for Marxism, but there is no doubt that the people have genuinely benefited in the process.

Even among Soviet citizens who disagreed fundamentally with certain aspects of the official Marxist faith we found a general belief in the justice and correctness of Soviet policy and an acceptance of much of the official Soviet interpretation of international affairs. All this convinced us that Soviet political advisers and American commercial advisers have made the same useful and dangerous discovery about human nature: the public may claim to be skeptical about all advertising, but very few persons can develop an immunity to repeated doses of it.

#### *Standard of Living*

Having thus sketched our view of the basic orientation of the average Soviet citizen, we want to record our observations on the way he lives, the problems he has to contend with, and the standards of living that are to be found in his society. Obviously these vary between city and country and among various economic and social strata. The well-placed Party functionary, the army officer, the successful artist or scholar, the factory manager and the Stakhanovite\* all enjoy a standard of living and an exemption from many of life's problems that set them apart from Soviet society as a whole. In this respect Soviet society is no different from any other: it has a privileged class and a laboring mass, and the spread between the two is not dissimilar to that which is found, for example, in the United States. In the Minsk tractor plant we were told that the mo-

\* Stakhanovite—A worker who produces more than the norms for his job and consequently receives bonus payments and other rewards.

This does not mean that the Soviet citizen has no opportunity to criticize. He is even encouraged to criticize the performance of individuals at the lower levels of government, and we saw evidence that this privilege is exercised, and perhaps even abused at times. For example, from our hotel window in one provincial town we observed the great restraint of a militia man (the Communist equivalent of "policeman") in handling a rowdy citizen who berated him long and loudly before a growing crowd. The sulphuric language even included—perhaps ironically—the use of the term "Soviet man!"

#### *Fear of America*

The average Soviet citizen has no information whatever about the outside world except what has been filtered through the officially controlled Soviet channels of communication. He is deeply concerned about peace because he knows the cost of war. He genuinely fears the United States because he has been led to believe that capitalism inevitably produces crises which lead inevitably to war. The United States is pictured to him as the center of reactionary capitalism whose ruling circles insist on imposing military bases and German rearmament upon an unwilling world. This fear of America, however, does not make him hate Americans, for the Soviet press commonly distinguishes between the American people and their rulers (but neglects to reconcile such a distinction with the fact that the rulers are both chosen and removed by the vote of the American people).

A member of our group once asked directions of two women on the outskirts of Moscow and was almost immediately drawn into a conversation about their great fear of war and desire for peace. When he told them the American people shared both their fear and that desire, the two women looked genuinely surprised and relieved. Then one of them said thoughtfully, "Yes, that makes sense; I'm sure the American people don't want war—it's just the capitalists!" (In answer he told them he had heard the same thing about them in America: "The Russian people don't want war—it's just the Communists!")

Our experience made us feel that most Soviet citizens have no understanding of what is meant in the West by a "free society." Relatively few persons living today in the Soviet Union have any personal memories of pre-Revolutionary Russia, and there was little in Russia before the Revolution that would add to their understanding of the term. Lacking any means of comparing Soviet society with that of the outside world, they tend to compare their situation today with what it was formerly;

visitors even where none are just . . . The trend in r  
months toward some relaxation of restrictions is encoura  
and we hope it will continue long enough to create a real ch  
in relations between the inhabitants of the Soviet Union  
those of the outside world.

The picture of the average Soviet citizen that we form  
for ourselves in the course of some 12,000 miles of travel wi  
the Soviet Union is of a man who accepts the Soviet system  
which he lives somewhat as the Swiss accept their mounta  
the English their fogs and the Arabs their desert. It is a  
of nature. One does not actually accept it or reject it, and  
less does one attempt to change it; one simply adjusts t  
The overwhelming majority of the Soviet citizens we  
appeared to have adjusted to it so completely that they fo  
it difficult to imagine what life must be like in that great  
of the outside world which, by dint of being non-Communis  
defined in Soviet terms as "capitalist."

We met Communist Party members who obviously beli  
wholeheartedly and devoutly in the Marxist-Leninist faith.  
met non-Party members who likewise accepted the faith.  
insisted that they enjoyed equal rights with Party member  
every respect (but — as we observed — only because they  
accepted the faith and worked within it). We also met enou  
dissidents to make us insist upon saying here that the great m  
of Soviet citizens have adjusted to the Soviet system rat  
than saying that they have accepted it.

#### ***Policies Unquestioned***

Nowhere did we find anybody—whether a Party mem  
or not—whose attitude toward his own government reve  
even a trace of that sense of personal responsibility for mak  
his voice heard on issues of policy which we consider to b  
part of the very essence of democracy. For the Soviet citi  
participation in political affairs means participation in im  
menting, explaining and arousing mass support of policies t  
have already been formulated by higher authorities. He acc  
whatever policies they formulate as the correct ones beca  
they are by definition the greatest experts in what is by de  
tion the one true faith. For the average Soviet citizen op  
to question whether the Soviet system really was the best w  
be more unthinkable—and far more dangerous—than for  
member of, let us say, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce or t  
National Association of Manufacturers to cast doubts on  
basic principles of American free enterprise.

"Why don't you get your embassy to help you. a Soviet acquaintance suggested.

"Oh, they wouldn't bother with a matter like that," the foreign visitor replied.

"They wouldn't!" the Soviet citizen exclaimed. "Then why don't you go straight to your embassy's Party cell and protest?"

#### *Drab Uniformity*

This monolithic character of Soviet society tempts the newcomer to plunge into easy generalizations. Before he has traveled far in the Soviet Union he begins to feel confident that he can make certain predictions about what he will find in the next town. The statues in the town parks and the paintings on the walls of public buildings will deal almost exclusively with certain standard variations on the twin themes of Lenin and Stalin. (Our religious analogy would suggest a parallel here to the cult of the Virgin and Child in medieval Christian art. The Communist substitution of a stern father-image for a loving mother-image might provide an interesting subject of speculation for the psychologists and sociologists.) Some of the streets, factories and neighboring collective farms will almost invariably be named for Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Dzerzhinski, or the Communist martyr Kirov. The town's leading theater will very likely be named after either Gorki or Mayakovski.

There is indeed a drab uniformity about the appearance of Soviet Main Street which probably finds its closest parallel in the flashy uniformity of Main Street in America. But we suspect that the standardized external appearance of Soviet towns may be almost as misleading to the foreign visitor as the standardized appearance of American towns is to foreign visitors to the United States.

The foreigner in the Soviet Union is likely to form an oversimplified picture of the country because of the age-old cultivation of secrecy in Russian officialdom. This was illustrated for us by such things as the scarcity of telephone directories in Moscow (the only copy we ever saw was one we borrowed from a foreign newspaper correspondent), the reluctance of officials to give us such statistics as the population of a town or the number of public schools in it and the denial of permission for us to visit the Baltic area. We know another foreign visitor who was given permission to visit a certain man on a chicken farm but later found out that orders had been issued not to allow him to get a look at any of the chickens or eggs while he was there. This Russian cult of secrecy tends to arouse suspicions in foreign

## II

### *Soviet Man and Soviet Society*

One of the strongest impressions we received of Soviet society, whether urban or rural, is what the Soviet leaders themselves call its "monolithic" structure. "All power to the Soviets" was among the slogans the Bolsheviks used in their struggle to gain control of the government in 1917, and that slogan has been fulfilled literally in the Soviet Union. Such concepts—separation of powers, political pluralism or sovereignty of the people—play no real part in Soviet thought or action. There is no complex network of independent civic clubs, professional associations, business groups, labor unions, veterans' organizations, political parties, women's clubs, church groups and other organizations, like those that compete for a citizen's loyalty in an open society and in turn give him an opportunity to make his influence felt. All the numerous organizations in the Soviet Union (with the possible—and partial—exception of the churches) are controlled directly or indirectly by the Communist Party. We noticed doors marked "Party Section" when we visited Moscow University, the office of a leading newspaper and a branch of the Academy of Sciences. These doors had their counterparts in all other Soviet organizations except the churches.

The role of the Communist Party in Soviet life is so very different from that which is associated with a political party in the West that we must refer once again to our analogy with a militant authoritarian church, in which we called the Communist Party the priesthood of the Soviet religion. (We should point out, however, that the policy of allowing no organization to exist without their approval and no periodical, book or pamphlet to be published without their authorization was not introduced into Russian society by the Communists. Numerous examples could be cited from tsarist history.)

The extent to which the position of the Communist Party has become a permanent fixture in the thinking of the average Soviet citizen may be judged by the story we heard from a native Russian about a foreign visitor from a non-Communist country who was having trouble getting tickets for some special event in Moscow.



evaluated them in terms of American methods, and lack of confidence in the statistics we gathered regarding production and labor relations to make them a part of this report.

We are well aware of the danger of drawing any sweeping conclusions on the basis of a 30-day visit. Our impressions are bound to be fragmentary and, as we have said, influenced by our prejudices and preconceptions. Perhaps the most important of these was a conviction that it is impossible to carve the world up into "good" parts and "evil" parts. Man is a mixture of both, and wherever he is, one may find evidence of both his nobility and his weakness. Therefore, we expected to find some things in the Soviet Union of which we could approve and some things of which we could sharply disapprove. That is what happened. In the chapters that follow we record our observations, recognizing their fragmentary nature but believing they may be useful in the face of the great need for first-hand reports of the Soviet scene.

seat belts and certain other safety precautions to which we accustomed in the West, the dirt runways, the punctual arrival and departure. Our reserved seats, usually grouped together in the front of the plane, reduced our opportunities into conversation with the Soviet passengers. But we did occasionally meet interesting persons in the course of our flight such as a pretty airline stewardess reading a translation of a young woman architect reading a modern British novel, J. Aldrich's *The Diplomat*, in Russian translation; and an argumentative Marxist engineer. The exceptions to plane travel were a train trip that two members of our group took from Moscow to Minsk; a two-day boat trip from Stalingrad down the Volga River, through the locks of the Volga-Don Canal, down the Don River to Rostov; and an overnight train trip from Moscow to Leningrad that William Edgerton took during his second month in Russia, after the rest of us had returned home.

In the course of this travel we soon found that as far as Soviet cities are concerned, the western visitor is not subjected to the kind of police surveillance that has been persistently reported by travelers in earlier years. With only a few exceptions we were able to wander at will and alone around the cities observing without interference the showplace and the squalor, the new and the old, the rich and the poor. As far as farms were concerned, we have already noted that these were not chosen on an approval basis to farms selected by local officials. For the reason there is no doubt that they were representative of the better rather than the poorer side of Soviet agriculture. On the other hand, we made most of them in areas not frequented by tourists and therefore to farms not geared especially to entertaining visitors, which from our standpoint made the experience more valuable.

#### **Industries Visited**

We saw only two major industrial establishments, a textile plant in Tashkent and a tractor factory in Minsk. However, both of these installations were large, and in the case of the tractor plant, our visit was the first by westerners. In both cases we were impressed with the self-contained communities that have grown up around the plants and which are planned and financed by the same ministry operating the factory. Indeed, the provision of company housing is one of the factors making for labor stability, since housing accommodations are tight everywhere. We likewise were impressed with the modern production methods being employed, although we were not equipped

striking examples of the relatively low status of Intourist in the Soviet hierarchy of influence may be found in our failure to arrange visits to a Moscow food warehouse, to the Ministry of Trade, or to a village where we had a literary interest which was only 30 miles from a city in which we spent five days. These frustrations must be faced by the tourist who visits in the Soviet Union, for there are no alternative means of organizing his trip, but it must be noted that they can be minimized if one is persistent and if he is blessed with a particularly able Intourist representative, as we were on the Asian part of our visit.

#### *Extent of Travel*

Our 30 days in the Soviet Union were spent for the most part in the well-known European cities of Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, Rostov, Kiev and Minsk. Four of our group spent five days in Penza, a smaller town 400 miles southeast of Moscow; and two spent ten days in Central Asia, getting as far east as Alma Ata on the Chinese border and visiting also Tashkent in Uzbekistan and Akmolinsk in Kazakhstan.

Each new city seemed to provide startling changes in our total picture of the Soviet Union. We saw Leningrad in early June, its residents bundled up rather drably against the cold of the late spring and its buildings generally in a state of disrepair. Swift moving and colorful Moscow with its influx of Soviet tourists from all corners of the U.S.S.R. created an entirely different impression of Soviet vitality. Penza's more relaxed atmosphere, the tremendous surge of energy expressed in the rebuilding of war-torn Stalingrad and Minsk, the prosperous air of the city of Rostov (which we only glimpsed), the European beauty of Kiev, the contrast of Uzbek and Russian culture in Tashkent, the beauty and cheerfulness of Alma Ata, the frontier quality of dusty Akmolinsk—all these varied impressions, together with our increasingly rich store of personal experiences as we traveled, gave us a realization of the complexity and variety of the country that cannot be gained from Moscow alone.

#### *Means of Travel*

In so large a nation as the Soviet Union (nearly three times the size of the United States), flying is the only way to cover long distances within the time limits of the usual tourist visa; and so with three exceptions all our travel between cities was done by air. Our experiences were the same as those of other tourists—the two-motored planes flying very low, the lack of

labor camps. Other major requests were granted, although features of our itinerary as originally planned had to be altered. We were unable, for example, to take a boat trip on the Volga between Gorki and Kuibishev and to visit Buzuluk, where Frunze had maintained a headquarters during the 1923 famine relief work, but in both these instances we were convinced the chief fault involved lack of facilities and the relatively unimportant status of Intourist itself rather than any basic objection to our plans.

#### *Relations With Intourist*

Our relations with individual representatives of Intourist were invariably cordial, but we were not particularly impressed with the efficiency of its service. In the first place, the agency is organized primarily to provide the standard type of foreign tourist with a standard program of sightseeing. It can also procure theater tickets on short notice, provide cars and guides for visits to museums and exhibitions and conduct tours to points of interest, but visits to farms and factories and schools, courts and churches, which were more nearly in the center of our interest, are more difficult to arrange.

We found it necessary to be specific and insistent regarding our interest in these areas, and even then noted a wide variation in the results depending on the ability of the individual Intourist representative with whom we were dealing. Some Intourist staff were able to arrange visits to farms and factories, others were not, and in the Soviet Union these are not made without appropriate permission from local authorities, so that the role of Intourist at these points is crucial. Indeed, these local permissions are so important as to constitute a second major area of control, for they provide the authorities not only with an absolute check on all visits but also with the opportunity to select the particular farms and factories to be visited if permissions are granted at all.

The more unusual the request, the more unlikely it is that it can be met through the facilities of Intourist. It would certainly not be within its power, for example, to arrange a visit to a forced labor camp, and for this reason we delayed raising this question until we had a chance to talk with the one high government figure we met in the Soviet Union, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko. It is obviously only someone on Mr. Gromyko's level who could give this kind of permission, and unfortunately his response to our inquiries was sufficiently cool to discourage us from pressing the matter any further.

English under the sponsorship of British Young Friends in 1954, and the thoughtful efforts of Swedish Friends in 1953 and 1954 in bringing Russian Baptist leaders to Sweden for religious fellowship with other Christians, have kept alive Friends' contacts with the Russian people during the cold war and helped us express our religious concern to break through man-made barriers and witness again to the need for understanding and peace.

#### *Not Special Guests*

A question constantly asked of us since we returned home is: "Were you restricted in your travel?" The answer is not easy. We went to the Soviet Union as ordinary tourists and not as the special guests of any Soviet organization. This fact deserves some emphasis, for one's experiences as a visitor in a Communist country are greatly influenced by one's status. Since Communist states are by nature strongly hierarchical, what the foreign visitor can see and do will depend to a great extent upon the influence of the group that sponsors his visit. If he comes as the guest of an important organization, he is likely to find that doors will open even as he reaches out to knock—giving him a little of the same startling experience one gets from those electronically operated doors in some of our American supermarkets and railway stations.

On an earlier visit to another Communist country as a member of a delegation invited by that country's national peace council, one member of our group had many experiences of this kind, such as visiting the country's largest steel center on two hours' notice, visiting the country's most famous political prisoner in his prison cell, spending a day and a night in a frontier military zone normally closed to all foreigners, and finally having a long interview with the head of the government. Such are the prerogatives of the special guest in a Communist country, and along with inflating his sense of his own importance, they are likely to distort his view of reality.

In our visit to the Soviet Union we ran no such risks. As ordinary tourists paying our own way throughout the trip we organized our visit through Intourist, the commercial Soviet agency for handling tourists. One advantage of the tourist status is the opportunity to map one's own itinerary and thereby to test in some measure the extent to which freedom of movement is possible. Overall control of travel is retained by the government which, through Intourist, must give approval to travel plans before tickets are issued. In our case, we were not able to fulfill our interest in visiting the Baltic regions and forced

He had been there in 1930, while a Quaker center still existed in Moscow.

The group also included two other staff members of the American Friends Service Committee. Hugh Moore, financial secretary, and Stephen G. Cary, head of the American Service, had both had long experience in Friends' work at home and abroad in Europe, including extensive visits to Finland and Poland, countries which had been vitally affected by their huge neighbor to the east.

The professional training and experience of Wroe Alderson, a marketing economist, was to be of great value to the rest of the group in interpreting the economic implications of what they saw during our visit.

Eleanor Zelliot, assistant to the editor of *The American Friend*, one of the two leading American Quaker journals, had traveled extensively in India.

William B. Edgerton, a specialist in Russian literature at the Pennsylvania State University, was a graduate of the Russian Institute at Columbia University and combined experience as a Quaker representative in post-war Poland and Yugoslavia with a knowledge of three Slavic languages, including Russian.

#### **Past Russian Contacts**

This visit to Russia was not a new experience in Quaker history. Friends' concern for peace is as old as the Society itself and has often led other Friends in other centuries to undertake visits to the great nation that is part of both Europe and Asia. Friends have waited upon the tsars; tsars in turn have attended Friends Meetings in England. Daniel Wheeler drained swamps in the area around St. Petersburg early in the Nineteenth Century. Stephen Grellet and William Allen visited Russia prior to the Revolution. Sixty years ago British and American Friends lent help to persecuted Russian Doukhobors and enabled them to emigrate to Canada. Twice in this century, once before the Revolution and once after it, Friends have brought relief to the face of famine. A Friends Center was maintained in Moscow until 1931, and in 1948 the American Friends Service Committee used \$25,000 contributed by individual Americans as a token of friendship to send streptomycin to the Russian Red Cross for treating tuberculosis in children's hospitals.\*

A visit by seven English Friends to Moscow and Kiev in 1951, the invitation to representatives of Soviet youth to

\* For a fuller account of Friends' contacts in Russia, see Anna Tanton, *Toward Undiscovered Ends* (Fendle Hill, 1951).

# I

## A New Chapter in an Old Story

On the afternoon of June 2, 1955, six American Quakers drove out through the Finnish countryside to the Helsinki airport and took off on the two-hour flight to Leningrad that was to mark the beginning of a month of travel in the Soviet Union.

The group was bound on a mission of good-will, a religious venture in which faith must lead where knowledge fails. We intended to seek out worshippers of God, to bring them greetings and encouragement and to share with them the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. We hoped that our journey might serve as a symbol to the Russians of the good-will and the desire for peace that we believe to be deeply rooted in the hearts of Americans. While meagerly equipped for the journey in most respects, we held firmly to the peace testimony of Friends, to the principle that the making of peace must first take place in the hearts of men and to a belief in the power of Christian love.

We were not unaware of the nature of Communist beliefs and practices, and we were conscious of our obligation to make the journey not only with open minds and open hearts but also with open eyes. In our contacts with Soviet citizens during our visit and in our reports to our fellow citizens after our return home, we were determined to try to maintain a single standard of honesty and good-will, keeping both groups in mind whenever we so spoke to either.

### *The Six Members*

Every member of the party brought with him a load of preconceptions about the Soviet Union that was more significant than any of the baggage presented to the customs officials for examination at the Leningrad airport. Not all of us had the same preconceptions, since each had drawn his information from his own sources and had his own habits of thought in arriving at conclusions.

Clarence Pickett, secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, had a broad background of international experience and contacts, particularly through his years of work as a Quaker observer at the United Nations. He was the only member of our party who had previously visited Russia.





more and more perfunctory observance, according to the letter rather than the spirit. To speak in the Communists' own terms, it will be interesting to see whether the dialectical process does not eventually confront the Marxist-Leninist state religion with its own counterpart of the anti-clericalism that other established religions have produced.\*

In any event, these are the "red-and-green glasses" through which we sought to observe and bring into focus the seeming paradoxes of three-dimensional Russia.

\* This was written before the Soviet deglorification of Stalin, which may help highlight some of these internal contradictions.

ing rather of a system of control based on physical force, hierarchical authority and the cult of unquestioning obedience.

According to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the thought and actions of the individual human being are inevitably determined by the class to which he belongs, regardless of his own subjective beliefs about himself. His only way of freeing himself from this submission to this determinism is to recognize the laws of history as revealed by Marxism and ally himself with the proletariat class under the leadership of its vanguard, the Communist Party. This doctrine about the class origin of individual thought and behavior has led the Communists to fill the world with people who are by definition their enemies—their class enemies. What is more, this doctrine has continued to produce enemies and definition within the Soviet Union itself. Since, in Lenin's words, "Marx's theory is objective truth," and since Marxism teaches that the individual's ideas are an outgrowth of his class background, any individual who disagrees with Marxist doctrine is by definition wrong and a potential or actual class enemy.

#### *Obstacles and Hopes*

This aspect of Marxist-Leninist doctrine naturally presents a very serious obstacle to persons of good-will who disagree fundamentally with Marxism but at the same time are concerned about creating genuine peace and mutual understanding between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. In Communist eyes, the very fact of rejecting Marxist-Leninist doctrine places a person in fundamental error and makes him a potential, if not an actual, enemy of the truth and its guardians, the Communists.

At the same time there are several reasons why men of good-will should not despair of eventually breaking through the wall of misunderstanding and suspicion that Marxist-Leninist doctrine creates around its adherents. First of all, Communists could not avoid being human beings even if they wished to, and as human beings they are far too complex to be adequately explained by their own doctrines. Second, the very emphasis they put on the cult of science and on the dialectical nature of phenomena may make it easier for them eventually to recognize the contradictions between their Marxist interpretations of reality and reality itself. Third, now that Marxism-Leninism has become the official religion of the Soviet state and now that one of the requirements for getting ahead in Soviet life is proper observance of its rites, it already shows evidence of producing the same antithetical force that has so often corrupted state religions in the past—the force of indifference, which leads

acquainted with some of them in the course of our visit did not surprise us, for the same statement might be made about the wholehearted conformist in any society, whatever its restrictions. The degree of freedom that exists in any society, however, cannot be measured by that society's conformists, but rather by the treatment of its rebels. Up to the present there has been little room for rebels in the Soviet Union.

In several respects the Soviet system constitutes a return to certain ideals of the European Middle Ages: a strongly paternalistic closed society, united by a single doctrine that was accepted as the one true faith, and ruled by a priestly hierarchy who proclaimed themselves to be the guardians and interpreters of that faith. In both societies heresy is regarded as the greatest of all crimes, for it is believed to strike at the ideological foundations upon which each society rests. The effort to maintain doctrinal purity has led in both societies to the erection of a barrier of censorship against the infiltration of heretical ideas from abroad and their rise and spread from within. In tsarist times the Russian Orthodox Church maintained its own ecclesiastical censorship, through which all books dealing with philosophy and religion had to pass. The Roman Catholic Church still maintains its index of books believed to be harmful to the general reader. And the libraries of the Soviet Union maintain two separate catalogs, a public one that lists only those books which are officially approved, and a private one that is complete—and accessible only by special permission.

#### *Soviet Priesthood-Army*

The two analogies presented here—the religious and the military—represent two almost inextricably intertwined threads that run through Soviet thinking. The Communist "church" offers ultimate salvation in the form of a classless society, where the resources of nature will be exploited only for the benefit of all mankind, as a reward for acceptance now of a dogmatic, authoritarian faith and obedience to the Communist priesthood who are the self-proclaimed guardians and interpreters of that faith. At the same time, this Communist priesthood is also a Communist army, organized—like all armies—as an instrument for the seizure and maintenance of power. The fact that the peoples of the Soviet Union have no means of exercising control over this Communist priesthood-army has led to the virtual militarization of the whole of Soviet society. By militarization we are not thinking simply of uniforms and weapons; we are think-

Emperor Justinian, in the Sixth Century, to hear instruction in the Christian churches; just as the children of Protestant families today in Franco's Spain are required in public schools to study the Roman Catholic catechism; and just as the Catholic children in all the American colonies except Pennsylvania and Maryland were long denied schools of their own faith and obliged to hear Protestant instruction as the price of attending a school at all.

*Partiinost'*, or ideological partisanship, is proclaimed as a virtue in the Soviet Union and demanded of teachers and scholars. From the Communists' dogmatic belief that they have the only key to truth it follows logically that they should not allow what in their eyes is error to have the same opportunities as what they consider to be truth. The whole of the Soviet press is naturally as partisan as the Communist leaders can make it. But this does not mean that every editor of every publication must receive orders every morning from Moscow about what to print. The uniformity of the Communist press can be better explained by the simple fact that all the editors of all publications are committed to the same "true faith."

#### *Nature of Freedom*

The problem of analyzing freedom in the Soviet Union also becomes clearer if we resort to the analogy with religion. It is a commonplace of Christian theological writing that man finds true freedom only in submission to the will of God. In the same way Soviet man is told that he can find true freedom only by understanding the laws of nature as revealed through Marxism-Leninism and by shaping his life according to them. Since the Communist Party by definition is the supreme authority on the Marxist faith, the individual is expected to look to the Party for guidance in all areas of life. "Malicious enemies abroad say of us Soviet writers that we write according to the dictates of the Party," the eminent Soviet novelist Mikhail Sholokhov declared at the second Congress of Soviet Writers in 1954. "Matters are somewhat different. Each one of us writes according to the dictates of his own heart, and our hearts belong to the Party and our people whom we serve with our art." Freedom is to be found by handing over one's heart—and one's conscience—to the Party, which by definition represents the real interests of the people.

It is undoubtedly true that many Soviet citizens who accept the official Marxist faith without reservation do feel free within its narrow confines. The fact that we became rather well

medi . Christendom, can mean only the existence of i . ay, and Communist heretics have customarily been subjected to persecution that can be compared in ferocity only to that which Christian heretics once suffered at the hands of their fellow Christians.

Parenthetically, we should point out that the resumption of friendly relations between Russian and Yugoslav Communists in the summer of 1955 marked a significant break in the traditional treatment of Communist heretics. Tito has been called by foreign observers the first Protestant of the Communist faith, but as the founder of the first national Communist movement he might be more appropriately compared, not to a Luther or a Calvin, but rather to King Henry VIII of England, the founder of the first national Catholic church. Incidentally, it was interesting to note as late as August, 1955, several weeks after the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia reestablished relations, that the Soviet libraries we visited still had Yugoslav books classified in their public catalogs under "Literature of the Capitalist Countries."

As long as the Russian Communists continue to make a religion out of their Marxist doctrines, it would be as unrealistic to expect them to allow genuinely free elections as it would have been to expect free elections in the Sixteenth Century in the Spain of the Inquisition, or in the religious dictatorship of John Calvin in Geneva. Within the confines of any society based on the "one true faith"—whether it be a theocracy or an "atheocracy"—elections can have little purpose except to determine how large a part of the population has accepted the faith and to encourage the remainder to turn from the error of their ways.

#### *Effect on Education*

This comparison of Marxism-Leninism to a religion helps to explain the frank bias that runs through virtually all Soviet intellectual life. Just as the early Christian Church was responsible for the spread of education throughout Europe as a means of propagating the Christian faith, so the Soviet state devotes great attention and energy to its educational system as a means of bringing up the younger generation in the Communist faith. Required courses in Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism play virtually the same role in Soviet schools as courses in Christian doctrine and history in the church-sponsored schools of other countries. The children of Christian families today in the Soviet Union are required to study Marxism in public school despite their religious beliefs—just as pagans were required by

we have found that it helps us to undo. . . and the system, not because we wish to imply any approval of the system. To be sure, this Soviet religion vehemently rejects and combats the idea of God, but the very passion with which the followers of Marxism-Leninism preach their atheism is in itself a mark of their essentially "religious," rather than scientific, approach to their doctrines.

The Soviet Communists believe their Marxist-Leninist doctrines provide them with the one infallible key to the discovery of all truth. Lenin himself said that "Marx's theory is the objective truth. . . . Following the path of this theory, we will approach the objective truth more and more closely, . . . while if we follow any other path we cannot arrive at anything except confusion and falsehood."\*

This attitude toward their "one truth faith" has led the Soviet Communists to endow the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin with a sacrosanct character, similar to that of the writings of the Church fathers in the Christian Middle Ages and to that of the Bible in much of Protestantism. There is a strong tendency among Soviet writers to argue deductively, in the faith that a quotation from Lenin can carry the weight of objective evidence. This tendency to argue from scriptural text—even though they be Marxist "scriptures"—is another familiar trait to Christians who can remember how Biblical texts were quoted both for and against human slavery at the time of the American Civil War, for and against evolution in the 1920's. The devil can quote scripture for his own purposes, and so can Christians and Communists.

#### ***Role of the Party***

The Russian Communists' belief in their Marxism-Leninism as the one true faith has led logically to the assumption by the Communist Party of the role of guardians and authoritative interpreters of the faith. Since the leaders of the Communist Party are by definition those who have penetrated most deeply into the mysteries of Marxism-Leninism, they are therefore considered to be best qualified to interpret Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The idea of allowing individual Party members any significant freedom to interpret the faith for themselves would be as unthinkable to the Russian Communists as similar freedom would have been for the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. Differences of doctrine in the Communist world, as in

\* V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" (1908) in *Selected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1943), XI, 206.

risking defeat. And we can find them all in the history of the Soviet Union. The grim logic of war, either war against another nation or war against another class, forces all those who are involved in it—whether Russians or Americans, Chinese or Englishmen, Germans or French—to share in whatever crimes against humanity the war may require as the price of possible victory.

But the logic of class war has influenced far more than Communist morality. Its influence can be seen in the structure of the Communist Party, which in Lenin's hands became a highly disciplined army of professional revolutionaries; in the essentially military approach of both Lenin and Stalin to the political problems they discussed in their speeches and writings;\* and above all in the centralized, hierarchical, authoritarian structure of Soviet society. Thus, in our efforts to observe and understand Soviet society and the problems of the Soviet citizen in living within it, we found the concept of war psychology to be a helpful one. The standards of morality and conduct which the West has been willing to adopt in pursuit of military victory in war have in real measure been adopted as standards for Soviet society as a whole, because it considers itself to be engaged in a perpetual war.

#### *The One True Faith*

The second generalization that has helped us in our effort to understand the Soviet Union is the now familiar analogy between the Soviet system and a militant state religion. We realize that some persons are inclined to reject this analogy because they feel that the word *religion* necessarily implies some degree of approval. We do not agree. There can be good religions and bad religions, and a mixture of good and evil within a single religion. We apply this analogy to the Soviet system because

\* This is strikingly exemplified in the following passage from the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, now officially attributed to Stalin: "There are times when a party or an army has to retreat because it has suffered defeat. In such cases, the army or party retreats to preserve itself and its ranks for new battles. . . . But there are other times, when in its advance a victorious party or army runs too far ahead, without providing itself with an adequate base in the rear. This creates a serious danger. So as not to lose connection with its base, an experienced party or army generally finds it necessary in such cases to fall back a little, to draw closer to and establish better contact with its base in order to provide itself with all its needs, and then resume the offensive more confidently and with guarantee of success. It was this kind of temporary retreat that Lenin effected by the New Economic Policy." *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), pp. 257-58.

The first generalization grows out of what might be called the fundamental doctrine underlying the whole Marxist-Leninist faith, the doctrine of the class struggle, or class war. Marxism taught the Russians revolting against tsarist autocracy that the basic factor in history was the inevitable antagonism between economic classes, between the exploiters of human labor and the exploited, and that the next stage in the history of all capitalist countries was bound to be the overthrow of the capitalist class by the exploited proletariat, the industrial workers. Society could make true progress only along the road that would lead to this revolution and beyond it to a classless utopia, in which no man would exploit his fellows. Any effort to improve society short of this necessary and inevitable revolution would not only be futile and illusory, it might actually delay the real improvement that only the revolution could bring.

#### *The Ethics of Military Necessity*

This belief in class war and revolution as the supreme facts of history led the Communists to apply to relations between classes an ethical standard that can best be understood by comparing it to the ethical standard that has generally been accepted by almost everybody—even most Christians—in time of international war. When two nations are engaged in war, the logic of the struggle usually leads each side to believe that victory must take precedence over everything else. It would be hard to find an example in all history of a nation that faced a conflict between its moral principles and military victory and deliberately chose to remain true to its moral principles at the price of military defeat.

Virtually everything in Communist conduct that shocks the moral principles of non-Communists can thus be explained in terms that are familiar and even acceptable to most non-Communists when demanded by military necessity in time of international war. The list would include systematic spying, censorship, assassinations, mass killings, the taking and killing of hostages, imprisonment without trial, the spreading of false propaganda, the deception of the enemy (whether a class or a nation) by any effective means, mass starvation, sabotage, bribery and the use of provocateurs and informers. We need to look back no further than World War II and the Korean War to find examples of all these acts committed at one time or another by both sides—not because either side wilfully preferred to engage in such acts but because both sides were forced by the logic of war to choose between engaging in these acts and



luggage. In the midst of this procedure, expected by the Russian government travel agency Intourist, a tall, bearded, distinguished-looking man approached us with what was to become a familiar, warm greeting. He was Pastor Orlov, superintending pastor of the Leningrad district of the Baptist Church. He rather hesitatingly told us that a service was just about to begin at seven o'clock at his church and asked whether we would like to attend and bring greetings. We had rather expected to have a leisurely supper at our hotel and prepare our minds and bodies for the next day's beginning of a one-month stay in the Soviet Union. But we remembered that while we had a diversity of interest our statement of the purpose of the visit had emphasized our desire for fellowship with religious groups as far as the way might open. And how could the way be more open? So after just time to deposit our bags at the Astoria Hotel, we drove off in the Intourist ZIS and ZIM cars to an inconspicuous low building built in a courtyard with dwellings all about. It will be impossible to recapture the full drama of what we found. The service began at seven o'clock. It was now eight-thirty. Every square inch of the room was packed. No notice of our coming had been given. So, although the whole audience was singing, it was not difficult to see them say to themselves as we squeezed our way in, "What's happening?" I shall never forget the effort on my part to suppress an outburst of emotion as we elbowed our way up the aisle. For I had consented to give a greeting to these waiting souls, obviously hungry for words of hope and consolation. And when the minister announced who we were, my task was made no easier. For through that whole congregation, estimated at 1,500 people, went a spontaneous audible wave of welcome, accompanied by tears of joy from literally scores of eyes. One was seeing a scene from an early Christian church when miracles happened. Here was the Book of Acts re-enacted in Leningrad in 1955.

All of us as we spoke had in our minds that we were speaking to people who had stood 900 days of German siege during the war; and that all of life represented a struggle. For "not many mighty, not many rich" were there. Mostly they were women, mature to elderly. One could imagine loss of loved ones; and isolation, loneliness and struggle to make a living, as characteristic. But here joy in the love of Christ flowed over all their grief. The church and its fellowship

Committee had been active in caring for Jews who escaped from Germany under the Hitler regime. The president said that if Quakers had done this it was a meritorious act but that the Jews of Kiev did not want any help from outside. He added that western Jews had not offered any help, and in fact they appeared to have forgotten the Jews of Kiev. He nearly broke down as he made this statement. After regaining his composure, he went on to tell the story of how half the Jews in Kiev had been massacred by Hitler and how the other half had escaped only because the Soviet government had sent in rescue trains to evacuate them. There were 260,000 Jews in Kiev before the war, he said, and little more than half that number now.

The president stated that the Jews of Kiev had complete freedom of religious worship and that the synagogue had been turned over completely to them by a magnanimous government. Presumably it would have been more accurate to say the government had turned it back to them, since it had been built by Jews long before. Asked whether they had a training school for rabbis, he answered that the government had recognized the need they would have for new leaders as their trained rabbis passed away, and had taken the initiative in proposing that they establish a training center for rabbis. In answer to our question whether Jews were free to go to Palestine, he said that there were no obstacles whatever. This statement did not square with our understanding of current relations between Russia and Israel.

Obviously the synagogue committee had been nonplussed by this sudden appearance of foreign Christians professing an interest in the situation of the Jews in Kiev. As we left the room after our interview, one of the Jews turned to the Russian-speaking member of our group and asked, "Did I understand you to say that you really aren't Jews at all?"

Our contact later with the chief rabbi in Moscow was reassuring. He had heard of Quakers and had a better understanding of our mission. He too, however, was categorical about the religious tolerance granted to Jews.

#### ***Baptist Contacts Numerous***

The account of our numerous contacts with the Russian Baptists can well start with the story of our first meeting with them as recorded by one member of the group in his diary.

We landed in Leningrad on an early evening plane, six American Quakers. There were the usual formalities, with unusual dispatch; a form to fill out but no examination of

generally considered to lie in the protest it represented against the domination of the Orthodox Church by the state.

We were told that there were now approximately 20,000,000 Old Believers throughout the Soviet Union. They are in turn divided into two main branches, the priestly and the priestless. The priest we visited did not attempt to speak for the other branch, but was not aware of any major distinctions except that someone elected by the congregation officiated at the services. The Old Believers have no regularly organized training institution for priests. Instead, they have the informal practice of selecting a promising young man and allowing him to undergo a kind of apprenticeship under an older priest. The priest we visited in Kiev had one such young man training under him.

#### *Jews in Kiev*

Our first visit to a Jewish synagogue, also in Kiev, was one of the most perplexing of the religious contacts we made. Our request for an interview doubtless seemed rather abrupt. The first contact was in the early afternoon and the visit was later that same afternoon. It was obvious that this conference would present some difficulties, since we were told that the rabbi was 85 years old and very feeble, that he spoke no English and little Russian. His native language was Yiddish.

When the group arrived at the synagogue it was evident that some feverish discussion had taken place in the interval. We were greeted by the lay president of the synagogue and the entire board, or governing committee. The rabbi, a tall, white-bearded man, was at the ark and turned to greet us with solemn dignity. A number of elderly or middle-aged men were present, most of them engaged in individual religious exercises. Some were praying and bowing incessantly toward the ark. Others were reading scrolls of the Hebrew Torah.

The president of the synagogue directed us and his own group to an upstairs room for a formal interview. The rabbi sat quietly throughout. The president of the synagogue, with his board seated in a row behind him, was the only one to speak on their side. The official nature of the meeting, from their viewpoint, was emphasized by the fact that one of the men who had been reading the Torah downstairs started to enter the room and was immediately asked to leave.

Clarence Pickett explained who we were and the nature of our interest in religious groups in Russia. He referred to the American Jews who are interested in the work of the American Friends Service Committee and to the fact that the

greeting the Quaker group had brought them from America. The joyful welcome rising from the congregation was as spontaneous as from any of the other religious groups we visited. It was something a little different from the hospitality to individuals, since we had not spoken and were only so many figures in Western clothes. It was more as if the Metropolitan who had just changed the host into the body of Christ had performed another miracle through the power of the Lord. Americans were said to be a warlike people from a great distance who threatened their families and their homes. Yet their church had produced before their very eyes a group of six Americans who spoke Christian love and their hope for enduring peace. The Orthodox have a different way of seeing the miracles of faith, but an American might view the quality of that faith with some humility. These people have suffered for their beliefs and still maintain their religious practices under some difficulty.

Their faith has a strong mystical strain; its impact is one of inspiration and comfort and its focus is on the promise of Eternal Life. The Orthodox Church has never stressed a social gospel and appears to be relatively unconcerned about the impossibility of developing one under present conditions in the Soviet Union. For this reason, we felt the Orthodox Church fitted rather easily into the restricted frame within which religious activity in Russia must be carried on. Certainly the priests at Zagorsk seemed to find nothing incongruous about the large portrait of the Patriarch in their refectory being flanked on either side by equally large portraits of Lenin and Stalin. The Church leaders have made peace with the state, and seem prepared to carry on a spiritual ministry to the soul of man while leaving all things temporal to the care of secular authorities.

#### *Old Believers Visited*

We did not have a chance to worship with the Old Believers who split off from the state church in the Seventeenth Century, but three of us visited one of their church buildings in Kiev and were entertained at dinner in the house of the priest and his wife. Neither the church nor the robes of the priest were as ornate as those we saw in the Orthodox churches. Discussion with the priest did not disclose any important doctrinal differences. The split with the Orthodox Church took the outward form of disagreement over a reform in the liturgy, involving such details as whether to use two fingers or three in making the sign of the cross; but the real significance of the schism

non-Christian. The various religious groups in the cases of their own buildings and in other cases rent them for a very modest annual payment from the government. All religious groups now support themselves entirely from the contributions of their members. Governmental regulations provide that a minimum of 20 members of any religious group may establish itself as a congregation upon registering with the local governmental authorities.

Our own very different religious background made it somewhat difficult for us to enter fully into the spirit of worship in the Orthodox Church. The interior of the building itself is usually a little overwhelming. Almost every foot of space on the walls is decorated with pictures of saints. The west wall is invariably covered with a gigantic mural representing the Last Judgment. Much of this painting is notable for its antiquity and state of preservation, whatever our reactions to its artistic style. St. Vladimir Cathedral, which we visited in Kiev, and the churches mentioned above that have become public museums are certainly among the most beautiful churches in the world.

#### *Medieval Splendor*

The Orthodox service itself takes the beholder back to the Middle Ages. Because of the relative scarcity of churches, those that are in use are almost always crowded full. There is no seating; everyone stands for a service that is usually more than two hours long. Numerous priests in resplendent and elaborate robes lead in the ritual. Some members of the congregation bow down and touch their heads to the floor, while others move about the room kissing the ikons on the wall. The sense of deep devotion of the Orthodox worshipper is profound. The miracle of the mass is for him an immediate and vivid reality. One of us was urged to buy a picture of the image of St. Nicholas the Wonder-Worker with the most evidently sincere statement that "he can do anything for you." As one tries to enter into the spirit of this service, it is a moving experience. We attended one of the largest churches in Moscow on All Saints Day. The Metropolitan was officiating, assisted by a number of clergy, including an impressive deacon with a powerful bass voice who led the 5,000 worshippers in congregational singing. Special prayers were being said for a blind woman and an expectant mother, who were admitted to the space before the iconostasis.

When the mass was ended, the Metropolitan stepped forward and made a statement about the visiting delegation (ourselves), about the peace testimony of Friends and about the

no evidence that church attenders are subjected to any kind of discrimination or harassment, at least as far as rank and file Soviet citizens are concerned. Doubtless church membership and Party membership would be mutually exclusive, and probably church membership would be counted against any one seeking an important post that required Party approval. We would conclude, therefore, that discrimination against church attenders does exist, but only at relatively high levels. For the great majority, an interest in religion seems to offer no serious handicap.

#### *Training for Priests*

By far the largest religious communion in the Soviet Union remains the Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow told us there were about 50,000,000 members of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union today. (The population of the Soviet Union is about 200,000,000.) The Church now has nine seminaries in which about 2,000 young men are in training for the priesthood, and two ecclesiastical academies for more advanced theological studies. When we visited one of these centers, Zagorsk, near Moscow, we were told that about 60 monasteries and convents are now open, including 3 convents in Kiev with a total of 1,000 nuns. Some 250 young men are in training at Zagorsk for the priesthood. They are recommended for training by local priests, and candidates are accepted by a special committee after they have submitted to a written examination. Their entire expenses are cared for by the Church itself.

During the years of more active opposition to religion, great many churches were destroyed or seized and put to other uses. For example, in the town of Penza there were 23 churches before the Revolution; today there are 3. Moscow, with a population of 7,000,000, has only 55 Orthodox Churches and a handful of others representing other faiths. Many Orthodox Churches of historic and artistic value, however, such as the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, the churches in the Kremlin in Moscow, and the Church of Basil the Blessed on Red Square, have been turned into public museums and are preserved with great care.

#### *Relations With State*

Relations between the Orthodox Church and the government are regulated by a government-appointed Council on Orthodox Church Affairs, which was established in 1943 at the time of the agreement with the state. A similar agency, the Council on the Affairs of the Religious Cults, takes care of the relations between the state and all the other religious groups, Christians

were truly the center of their lives. ) again the goodness of God was . We had come from a country about which all too often they had heard hostile rumors, and in whose military bases encircling them America boasted that she saved her security. But no warmer or more meaningful welcome could possibly have been given.

We found this was repeated wherever we met with Baptist congregations in the Soviet Union. Sometimes, as at Penza, Tashkent and Alma Ata, the service was followed by two to four-hour talks with the Church Councils, discussing the beliefs of Friends, the status of religion in the Soviet Union and theological questions.

At the present time the Baptist Church is by far the largest Protestant denomination in the Soviet Union. This preeminence was assured by the 1944 merger of the Baptists and the Evangelical Christians into a single body that is officially titled the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists. The Union has since been expanded to include the Russian Pentecostals, and the present tendency appears to be for increasing numbers of isolated Protestant groups to affiliate with the Union. This is true, for example, of the Mennonites, who have been widely scattered from their original base in the Ukraine, and are now joining the Baptist Union in increasing numbers. The Union is governed by an All-Union Council composed of 12 members and 50 supervisory pastors or "presbyters" represent the Council in the various parts of the Soviet Union. Some indication of the vigor in the Baptist movement can be gathered from the fact that while it numbered only 300,000 members in 1947, its present membership exceeds 500,000.

This is, of course, small as denominations go, even when attenders who are not actual members are added in to bring the total reached by the Baptist message to about 3,000,000. The church is still strongest in the Ukraine, the chief place of its origin, but there are Baptists throughout the Soviet Union in large cities and in villages, from Leningrad to Odessa, and from Moscow to Novosibirsk. In most cities where we worshipped men and women of all ages participated and the church was a good cross section of the whole community. It includes some members of the intellectual classes, although the great majority of worshippers appeared to be workers and peasants.

The form of worship is like evangelistic Protestantism elsewhere, centering in singing, Bible reading, sermons and prayer. The choir is composed of both men and women and is often under excellent musical direction. Congregational prayer is an interesting

...ing feature, one member picking up when another leaves off. service was flexible enough so that it seemed to naturally when our group was allocated to speak. The sermon always contained a clear and genuine emphasis on the fatherhood and love of God and the brotherhood of all men. Baptism is an essential symbol, but it is not a magic rite which is expected to transform the soul. Applicants are kept waiting for baptism for months until they have demonstrated that their attitude and behavior make them acceptable members.

In addition to an official pastor and a paid assistant, a Baptist church can have a number of unpaid preachers. There are often two sermons at a service. At Penza one of the sermons was preached by a man who was also a member of the choir and worked as an accountant in a machinery plant. Church government is still basically congregational, but there is a supervising pastor in each district. The All-Union Council in Moscow maintains communication throughout the movement by such means as the quarterly church magazine *Bratski Vestnik* (The Brotherly Messenger), and the tours and reports of the various district superintendents.

#### *Possible Leaven*

With the Baptists we felt a unity of the Spirit, a hand of fellowship, a testimony to the power of a loving faith. True, they have entered into an understanding with the state that neither church nor state will interfere in the domain of the other. This might well seem to concede too much. It does prevent protest to the state, or any possibility of speaking out in Christian terms on problems of politics, economics or the social order. It prevents the church from conducting church schools or even Sunday school classes, for education is the function of the state. As a result, the church runs the risk which Christians faced in the Second Century of putting a "pinch of incense before the image of the emperor." But there is great depth and vitality in the Christian experience of these devout believers, and Western Christians will do well to visit them "in the love of the Gospel" and to pray that they may find the way to truth. Though they are a relatively small group, reaching only about one and a half per cent of the population, we found them a source of inspiration, particularly in the emphasis that is repeatedly given in their preaching to Christ's love for man and man's responsibility to follow Him. Here is surely being developed a capacity for moral judgment that may well be felt in time as a leavening influence in the rigid pattern of Soviet society.



The new tactic that has been suggested toward religion in the Soviet government does not imply any change in the Communist Party's position that Marxism-Leninism and religion are completely irreconcilable. It suggests only a change in tactics away from persecution and blatant anti-religious propaganda toward persuasion. These new tactics, centered in the Soviet education system, seek to wean people from religion by convincing them that it is unnecessary and unscientific and therefore mere superstition. A recent article on "Religious Superstitions and Ways of Overcoming Them" by F. N. Oleshchuk, a specialist on atheism, clarifies this present Communist position.

Throughout the years of revolution there has been a struggle about a new Soviet man, in the main an active, energetic builder of communism, a convinced materialist, and a convinced atheist. The number of believers in our country has sharply decreased, and the believer himself has changed. . . . People now participate in the construction of communism, and in their minds there is always going on a struggle between the old and the new, of religion with science. . . . A considerable number of citizens of the Soviet Union taking active part in the life of the country and honorably fulfilling their duty to their homeland are still under the influence of religious conceptions. Toward these believers, the Party Central Committee decree ["On Errors in Communist Scientific-Atheist Propaganda Among the Public"], requires us to be thoughtful and considerate. It is absurd and harmful to cast political doubt on these citizens because of their religious convictions. Thoroughgoing, patient and organized scientific-atheist propaganda will help them in the long run to free themselves from their religious convictions.\*

This interesting and revealing article makes a strong case that bear out the impressions we got during our visit to the Soviet Union: "Religious survivals have not been completely excluded even among the intelligentsia, while some Party members and Young Communist League members are sometimes free from them. Of late a certain revival of religious survivals has been noticeable." The author goes on to note:

... scientific-atheist propaganda becomes all the more complex because in the years of Soviet rule the clergy have

\* *Voprosy filosofii*, No. 6 (1954), translated in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, VII, No. 10 (April 20, 1955), 4.

modernize religion itself, adapting it to new conditions and the rising moral-political level of Soviet people. Much of religious teaching which is clearly absurd and evoked laughter and smiles has been eliminated or at least cast into oblivion. On the contrary, there is every effort to make out that religion does not contradict science and the latest discoveries of natural science, that religion is allegedly a special sphere of cognition, a cornerstone of morality.

The unregulated state of certain aspects of Soviet life also makes it difficult to overcome religious survivals, according to Oleshchuk.

We know, for example, that many clubs or cottage reading rooms are frequently uncomfortable, dirty and cold. There is no enticement to go there, no prospect of relaxation. At the same time, churches and other houses of worship are clean and warm and offer the singing of a good choir. By organizing choir-singing circles the clergy succeed in many places in winning over young people and fettering them with the chains of religion.

Even though the Communists are as militantly atheistic as ever, this more moderate policy toward religious groups is a welcome sign.

In conclusion, we found religion laboring under many difficulties in the Soviet Union, although in a far better position than was the case prior to 1943. A real measure of freedom exists in terms of worship and evangelism and church organization, but this freedom has been obtained at the cost of compromises that must trouble the sensitive conscience. No one outside the Soviet Union, however, is in any position to pass judgment on the concessions made by any Russian church, and certainly it is not possible to visit among Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union without sensing the depth and vitality of the faith that sustains them. Speaking for ourselves, we see the Russian church as a living force, capable of great good and offering some promise of influencing the future development of Soviet society. In any event, we found it in anything but the moribund state in which most Westerners assume it to be.

## IX

### *The Man They Left Behind*

*William Edgerton's Account of His Second Month in*

As soon as we received 30-day visas from the Soviet Government for our Quaker visit, I wrote a letter to the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (known by its Russian abbreviation as VOKS). I expressed my desire to stay in the Soviet Union for a second month to do research in Soviet libraries and archives on the Nineteenth Century Russian writer Nikolai Leskov, about whom I was preparing a book. I enclosed a detailed list of published materials I had been unable to obtain in the United States or Western Europe and of unpublished Leskov documents that I believed to exist in Soviet archives. I also listed the names of a number of Russian literary scholars who are well known for their research on Leskov and whom I hoped to meet. I requested the help of VOKS in making arrangements to meet these scholars and to use the materials I listed.

#### *Literary Contacts*

Soon after we arrived in Moscow I had a very cordial interview with representatives of VOKS, and they immediately began to work making the contacts for me that I had requested. In the next few days I met several Russian literary scholars. I had an interview with the Assistant Director of the Lenin Library, obtained a reader's card for that library and accepted an invitation from VOKS to give a talk later on at the Gorki Institute of World Literature before a group of literary scholars and teachers. Meanwhile, Intourist officials gave us information and assurances that there would be no difficulty in having my visa extended for a second month to take care of the research I wanted to do.

Near the end of our 30-day tour I submitted my request to the Soviet authorities through Intourist for the visa extension. On the afternoon of that same day I was informed that my request had been denied. Greatly disturbed, I immediately appealed to VOKS, pointing out that unless I obtained an extension I could not even give the talk they had requested. The VOKS representative assured me that they would take up my case with the Russian studies in the United States. The VOKS representative

tion seemed likewise disturbed and promised to help in any way they could. Even their efforts proved fruitless, however; and 48 hours before the rest of the Quaker group were scheduled to leave the Soviet Union I found myself facing the collapse of all my plans for literary research in Soviet libraries and archives. There was no one left to appeal to except the Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself. By a fortunate coincidence an interview had already been scheduled for us with Andrei Gromyko. The next day, during Mr. Gromyko's very cordial interview with Clarence Pickett, Stephen Cary and me, we brought up the subject of my proposed research on Leskov and the difficulty I had experienced in trying to get my visa extended. After listening sympathetically to my account of the research I had already done on the writer, Mr. Gromyko spoke of Leskov's profound knowledge of the Russian people and mentioned in particular his famous comic story "The Tale of the Cross-Eyed, Left-Handed Smith from Tula and the Steel Flea." We exchanged comments on Leskov's humorous use of language in the story, and Mr. Gromyko agreed to look into the matter of a visa extension for me.

#### *Gromyko Works Fast*

When we left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I went straight to the Polish Embassy to get a transit visa permitting me to fly across Poland with the rest of the Quaker group when they left Russia the next morning. But I had not yet finished filling out the application blank when the telephone rang and the Polish official who answered it told me there was no need to complete the visa applications: my Soviet visa had just been extended for another month within half an hour after we had left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

With this visa extension from on high, my status changed almost overnight; and as I made one request after another during my second month—to use libraries, to see unpublished documents, to visit scholars—the way was almost miraculously open. On receiving a reader's card from the famous Lenin Library in Moscow I was assigned to the Scholarly Reading Room No. 1, which I heard Russians refer to as the "professors reading room." Sitting in this quiet place, with its walls lined with the works of Lenin and Stalin, the pre-revolutionary Brockhaus-Efron Russian encyclopedia, the first and second editions of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, the *Literary Encyclopedia*, the mimeographed bi-monthly list of new foreign accessions to the Lenin Library and various other reference works, I submitted

call slips for all the published material by Leskov. I had been unable to find in the Slavic collections of the United States and Western Europe. Except for the year 1893 of Russian newspaper every one of the rare items I requested turned out to be in the Lenin Library. (As has been noted already, complete catalogs of Soviet libraries are accessible on special permission, while the public catalogs are limited as told officially to "recommended" books. The public catalog of the Lenin Library was so limited that it was useless for my purposes; but here, as in all the other Soviet libraries I used, I invariably found the librarian most helpful, cordial and efficient.)

Within a few days I had completed my work with unpublished materials and was busy studying the precious unpublished Leskov manuscripts and letters that are preserved in the Lenin Library, the State Literary Museum, the Central State Literary Archives and the archives of the Academy of Sciences. At the end of the month I went to Leningrad for work in the archives of Pushkin House and the great Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library. Personal contacts with Russian literary scholars rapidly multiplied, and the unvarying cordiality I found in all impressed me as evidence, not that their friendliness was a product of the new Geneva atmosphere, but rather that the Geneva atmosphere had made them feel free to express their real desire for normal contacts with scholars of other countries.

#### *Speech to Scholars*

The interest shown in my talk on Russian studies in the United States was a further indication of this attitude. The talk was arranged as an invitation affair, but as advance word of it got around among Russian literary scholars in Moscow, I was told that VOKS began receiving more and more inquiries and requests for invitations. When the time for the talk arrived, I found that the room in which it was to be given at the Institute of World Literature was literally packed to the doors. I spoke for an hour in Russian from rather full notes. After beginning with a general description of American education, in which I called attention to the fact that it is a decentralized system in which both public and private institutions cooperate and compete, I went on to point out that Russian studies in the United States, though flourishing vigorously, are still relatively undeveloped and that the study of French, German and Spanish in American schools and colleges still greatly exceeds the study of Russian. With this said by way of providing perspective I went on to describe the phenomenal growth of Russian studies in America.

versities since World War II. My hour-long talk was followed by a lively question period that continued for another three-quarters of an hour.

*Pravda*, the leading newspaper in the Soviet Union, carried next morning a brief account of my talk. This two-inch item in *Pravda* served throughout the rest of my visit as a kind of general introduction to everybody in the Soviet Union, and provided striking evidence of the thoroughness with which Soviet citizens read the four-page daily newspaper that they know to be the most authoritative mouthpiece of the Party that rules the country. More than once after that, in conversation with total strangers I met casually on the street or in a train, my identification of myself as an American professor of Russian literature would bring the response: "Oh yes, you're working on Leskov, aren't you?" One good-natured Russian scholar who went to a great deal of trouble to help me in my search for a particularly elusive bit of information about Leskov called me up one evening shortly after my lecture to pass on the latest clue he had found. After giving me the name and address of the scholarly institution where he thought I might be able to find the information I was seeking, he added: "And take that *Pravda* article along with you—it'll be a help!"

The two inches in *Pravda* soon led to requests for interviews in the Soviet newspaper *Literary Gazette* and the weekly news magazine *New Times*. Knowing the great differences between the monopoly press of the Soviet Union and the decentralized, privately controlled newspapers with which I was familiar in the United States, I must confess that my first impulse was one of hesitation. After some reflection about the reasons the Quaker group had undertaken to visit the Soviet Union in the first place, however, I concluded that the invitation to speak to the Russian people through their own press offered an opportunity and a challenge. It was an opportunity to share my concern for genuine peace and justice with thousands of Soviet citizens instead of the small handful with whom I had talked in person, and it was a challenge to try to observe the same standards of frankness as well as good-will in addressing the people of the Soviet Union that I wanted to observe at home in reporting on our trip to the people of the United States.

#### *Newspaper Article Asked*

The *Literary Gazette* had asked me to make a statement about my attitude toward the Geneva Conference, which was then about to begin. I wrote the following article, under the

heading "For Cor ice and Mutual Understanding," was published in the *Literary Gazette* for July 23, along with statements by three other foreigners then in Moscow:

I am certain that my deep desire for the success of the Geneva Conference is shared by Americans in general, from our country, from my colleagues in scholarly work, from the farmers and textile workers of my native state of North Carolina, and from the steel workers, coal miners and businessmen of Pennsylvania, the state in which I now live. To the capitalists of Wall Street (some of whom, as I personally know, have long worked actively for better understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union).

The discovery of the secret of atomic energy marks a turning-point in world history. The possible effects of this discovery for good or evil are so great that I believe it obliges us to re-examine all our most firmly held convictions. Beside the great, awe-inspiring fact of man's control of atomic energy I believe everything else becomes secondary—the theories of capitalism in which our American businessmen believe and the theories of the class struggle and revolution that form an important part of Marxism-Leninism. The most vital problem confronting mankind today is the problem of discovering non-violent ways to resolve human conflicts. As President Eisenhower has expressed it, "There is no alternative to peace."

I believe we must not allow ourselves to expect much to come from this short conference at Geneva. The differences between the Soviet Union and the United States in history, in cultural heritage, in philosophy of government and in political and economic structure, are so great that it was difficult for us to understand each other even if there had been ten years of mutual distrust had never existed. What is the reason, however, is that the Geneva Conference will be able to create an atmosphere that will enable us, with greater confidence in each other, to work together on the problems of finding just and peaceful solutions for the problems that divide us.

Even though I speak your language and have spent many years in studying Russian literature and history, there are many things that still puzzle me about your country. It is only natural that those of my fellow Americans who are not specialists in Russian affairs should

more puzzled. But the unfailing personal kindness and friendliness shown to me here by Soviet citizens, even by those whose understanding of my country seemed distorted, gives me confidence that we can overcome the barriers of misunderstanding that separate us if only we have more opportunities to know each other as individual human beings.

I hope the Geneva Conference will prepare the way for a far greater cultural interchange between the peoples of our two countries. I hope that the present exchange of agricultural delegations will be followed by the exchange of many more delegations of all kinds. I hope that many of my colleagues in Russian studies will have the sort of opportunity I am now enjoying to do research in your libraries and archives and to get acquainted with your scholars. I likewise hope that your specialists in American studies will have similar opportunities to get acquainted with their American colleagues and work in our American libraries and archives.

Last month when I saw your magnificent productions of *Boris Godunov* and *Prince Igor* at the Bolshoi Theater I found myself hoping that the day would soon come when our cultural exchanges could include a visit of your Bolshoi opera and ballet companies to the United States. I likewise found myself thinking of the American works that I should like the Soviet people to have an opportunity to see, such as George Gershwin's great opera on American Negro life *Porgy and Bess*, which recently made a very successful tour through Western Europe. I remember my pleasure at seeing your movie of Gogol's *Revisor* last year in New York. I have been glad to see that our American Walt Disney's famous film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*\* (which he made in both English and a French-language version) is being widely shown in the Soviet Union, and I think it would be a great contribution to mutual understanding if the Soviet people could see some of his other major films, especially his new and truly exciting documentary nature films. Other films likewise come to my mind, such as Judy Holliday's socially significant comedy *Born Yesterday* and Marlon Brando's great new film *On the Waterfront*.

\* The French-language version of this film, without Walt Disney's name and with the identification "A Foreign Film," was being widely shown in the Soviet Union while we were there. The Soviet citizens with whom we talked were not aware that it was an American film.



There is no end to the possibilities for better understanding between the peoples of the world through cultural exchanges as these that can be opened up by a successful conference at Geneva. But even if the Geneva Conference should fail completely (which I strongly doubt), the task of men of good-will all over the world would remain unchanged. We should simply have to redouble our efforts in all areas, including that of cultural interchange, to create the atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding that will eventually make it possible to solve our problems.

The *Literary Gazette* published this statement in a faithful Russian translation. The only place in the entire statement where the translator apparently winced a little was in my reference to personal knowledge of peace-loving Wall Street capitalists. The word "capitalists" appeared in the Russian translation as *biznesmeny*—our English word "businessmen" dressed up in Russian spelling!

#### ***Magazine Statement Printed***

The editors of the Soviet newsmagazine *New Times*, which is published in ten languages, requested an interview about the development of cultural ties between the Soviet Union and the United States. Here, too, I wrote out my statement in advance and I asked the editors to let me check their Russian translation of it before the various editions of *New Times* went to press. They readily agreed, and a few days later a friendly young Soviet representative called at my hotel room with the Russian translation. We compared it sentence by sentence with the original, and it proved on the whole to be a very competent, faithful translation. Then the young man told me that the editors were worried about the undue length of the statement and requested my permission to shorten it by omitting one passage where they felt that continuity would not be harmed. When he showed me the passage, I told him I would be very sorry to omit the idea it expressed. He told me that he too liked it personally, and even though it was rather poetic; but he pointed out that *New Times* is a mass publication and that simple people, such as Siberian peasants, might not understand my point. We discussed the matter long and vigorously, but at last I reluctantly agreed for the sake of the Siberian peasants, to let him cut the passage. The article was duly published in No. 31 of *New Times*. When I arrived home in the United States I found copies of the issue in half a dozen languages awaiting me. When I com

the published version with my own text, however, was greatly disturbed to discover that an additional omission had been made. Since both omissions happened to occur in the same paragraph, which I considered to be the most important part of the article, I shall quote that paragraph here with both of the omitted passages enclosed in brackets. The first one, marked with one asterisk, is the passage omitted without my previous knowledge or consent; the second is the one that I reluctantly agreed to let the editors leave out.

I personally believe that we scholars, as well as journalists, writers and everyone else who deals with the communications of ideas, have a special responsibility in this matter of working for better relations between our two countries. I believe our highest duty is to find and communicate the truth as honestly as we can. [I do not believe there is such a thing as Marxist truth or capitalist truth, American truth or Russian truth; I believe there is only truth, and none of us has yet grasped it entirely.]\* If a Marxist scholar finds some aspect of truth that I as a non-Marxist and a Christian have failed to find, I will honor him and feel indebted to him for it; and I trust that his attitude toward the work of us non-Marxists will be the same. [I remember the words of the Seventeenth-Century English poet to his beloved as he left for the war: "I could not love thee, dear, so much, loved I not honor more." With a slight variation in these lines I believe we can apply them to scholars, journalists and writers in general: "We could not love our country so much if we did not love truth even more than our country." To me that represents the highest form of patriotism.] If all of us take that attitude toward our search for truth, then we can feel confident that our work is helping to draw our various nations closer together and is helping to lay the foundation for a true and lasting peace.

After discovering the new omission in the paragraph above, I wrote to the editor-in-chief of *New Times* and called it to his attention. Explaining that I realized such omissions could occur accidentally, I told him that I was spending a great deal of time lecturing all over the United States about my visit to the Soviet Union, and I had found it quite impossible to persuade my audiences that the omission was accidental—nor could I myself feel sure it was accidental—unless he found it possible to publish a correction.

In reply I received the following letter from Moscow:  
RECEIVED YOUR LETTER STOP YOUR REQUEST  
WILL BE FULFILLED IN NEXT ISSUE NEW TIMES  
COMMA COPY OF WHICH YOU WILL RECEIVE.

LEONTYEV NEW TIMES

Shortly afterward I received copies by air mail of the English and Russian versions of *New Times* for November 10, 1955 (No. 46). Prominently displayed in the table of contents was the heading, "Editorial Letter Box: Note on the Interview With Professor Edgerton." On page 31 appeared the following announcement:

In its issue of July 28, 1955 (No. 31) *New Times* carried an interview with Professor William B. Edgerton of Pennsylvania State University, then on a visit to the Soviet Union. On November 2, we received a letter from him saying that on his return to America he discovered an omission in the interview "which greatly disturbs" him. Reference is to several sentences which were deleted in the process of reducing the interview to normal length.

Professor Edgerton evidently attaches much importance to the omitted sentences, and we therefore readily comply with his request to publish them. These are the sentences in question:

Then followed a full quotation not only of my crucial sentences about the universal nature of truth—but also of the poetic passage that was too hard for the Siberian peasants!

#### *Poland Revisited*

By the end of these two eventful months in the Soviet Union I felt a need to gain a better perspective on my Russian experiences by visiting strongly contrasting areas of Europe.

After some effort I succeeded in getting a five-day visa for Poland, where I had worked for five months in 1946 as a member of the Anglo-American Quaker Relief Mission; and I spent the five days revisiting Warsaw and Cracow. I was impressed on arriving in Warsaw from the East, just as I had been impressed in 1946 upon arriving there from the West, by the remarkable Westernness of Poland's whole culture and outlook, despite her geographical position in Eastern Europe. Five days is of course far too short a time to penetrate very far below the surface of life in any country, even though one speaks its language; and

et there are certain things that stand out rather clearly in my mind as I look back now upon the experiences that were packed into those five days in Poland. One is that the Poles have not lost their spirit of independence, despite the fact that I found less individual freedom in Poland last summer than I had found in 1946. Another is that the Poles are now overworked, very tired and very poor. To be sure, that could also have been said in 1946. The difference is that now it is ten years later, and in 1946 the future appeared less certain and therefore more hopeful.

It is too soon as yet to foresee what consequences the destruction of the Stalin cult may hold for Poland and the other countries of Eastern Europe. If it means greater national independence, greater personal liberty, greater freedom of religion and conscience and greater protection for the individual against arbitrary actions by those in positions of power, then I feel confident that the Poles will welcome this change.

#### *Spain Persecutes Protestants*

After my stay in Poland I journeyed across Germany and France to the frontier of Franco's Spain, traveled by train to Madrid and spent two days in the Spanish capital before taking a trans-Atlantic plane back to the United States. My special purpose in visiting the country that is ruled by Franco and his Falange was to compare the situation of the Protestants in Spain with the situation of all Christians in Russia. I visited two Protestant churches (neither of which was allowed to carry any outward sign to indicate that it was a place of worship), and I talked with a number of Spanish Protestants. When I explained to one of them that I had just spent two months in the Soviet Union and had come to Spain to make comparisons, he said, "I doubt whether you could find any other country in Europe that is so similar."

Since our Quaker group had had many contacts with Baptists in the Soviet Union, I was naturally interested in learning about the Baptists in Spain. I found out that one of the two Baptist churches in Madrid had been closed for more than two years and the Baptists were still unable to get permission from the government authorities to reopen it. I also found out that the Spanish government had refused to permit the president and secretary of the Spanish Baptist Union to leave the country in order to attend the world Baptist conference that had been held in July in London. (The Baptists of the Soviet Union were represented there by a delegation of nine—the first such delegation since 1928.) I learned that Protestants are in effect excluded

from Spanish universities, that they are unable legally to issue publications of their own or receive Protestant publications from abroad, that their children are obliged to study the Catholic catechism in public schools, that they often have great difficulty in obtaining legal recognition for Protestant marriages, that they suffer innumerable forms of legal discrimination and that they cannot count on the protection of the state authorities against physical harm or the destruction of their property by fanatical neighbors.

There are important differences between the situation of the Protestants in Spain and the situation of all Christians in Russia, and yet in one respect the two situations are strikingly similar. The persecution of both groups is carried on in the name of Truth, of which each group of persecutors is convinced that it has a monopoly. While in Soviet Russia the persecution—now fortunately in abeyance, it seems—has been carried on by a political party that is openly hostile to all religion, in France and Spain the task of persecuting Christians is organized and carried out by other Christians.

## *Seeds of Understanding*

In conclusion, we would remind the reader that this is not a full-fledged report on life in Soviet Russia. It is an attempt to indicate what six Americans saw and felt during a brief visit. True, at some points this has been supplemented by a framework of factual data secured from authentic sources but not observed. We have not ventured much by way of political discussion partly because we are not competent and partly because these observations are much more amply provided for from other sources.

We went to Russia partly to see how real the iron curtain is. Our airplane flew easily through it—no delay at customs, no questioning of our intentions, only minor restraint on taking pictures. And yet we know the curtain is there. Ideas do not pass through it easily. Trade is not free. Misinformation about Americans by the Russian press is all too often countered by evidence of ignorance concerning facts about Russia in the American press. And in the field of politics, wide areas of suspicion of motives still prevail.

If, instead of rivalry and suspicion, we are to look forward with hope that our two great powers can learn to work toward the common welfare of the world, there is an enormous job of understanding to be done on both sides. And if, as most Americans assume, we are now the stronger, it lays upon us the responsibility to be the venturesome aggressors in promoting understanding. That will require not only great skill on the part of our government, but very greatly increased effort on the part of voluntary forces. These efforts by small groups who go with no other purpose but to understand and be understood can now be carried out, and we hope they will be on a much accelerated scale.

### *Formidable Barriers*

This is not to suggest that mutual understanding will be easy to achieve. The reality of ideological conflict, power rivalry and vastly different cultural heritage present formidable barriers that have been heightened by ignorance on both sides and the increasing isolation of the Soviet people until recently from contacts with the outside world. The tension of the last ten years

has added still another difficulty by surrounding the process with a belligerent atmosphere that discourages a rational approach to its solution. Emotionalism needs to be replaced by reason if any useful appraisal is to be made of the forces at work in Soviet society.

We found ample evidence that Russia retains much of its monolithic character which has marked it for centuries. Individual freedom as we know it in the democratic world does not today exist in Russia, and never has. The Party exercises control of the machinery of government, the national economy and the social order. We have no reason to believe it has abandoned its revolutionary objectives, or abandoned its war psychology or its intolerance of dissent. Our visit dispelled none of the popular impressions of Soviet society, but it reinforced our conviction that they convey only a partial and very inadequate understanding of the Soviet Union. Taken alone, they present a static situation: total control, rigid doctrine, intolerance, and violence. Yet almost our strongest impression of Soviet society was its fluid quality. The internal situation in Russia is always in flux; forces are at work that will certainly make the future very different from the past. To assume the contrary is to dehumanize the Russians and reduce the operation of society to a mechanical formula. This is a Marxist doctrine, and one that runs counter to both Christian belief and historical evidence. It fails to take into account the fact that dictators are men, that they govern other men—in this case, 200 million of them. These relationships are much too complex to be dealt with on any neat mechanical basis.

#### *Marxism vs. Education*

Soviet society is itself a demonstration of the inadequacy of the Marxist formula. A whole nation has been taught to think. An increasing number are being taught to think, and according to American scientists, to think very well. This massive educational program has been necessary to carry forward the program of industrialization and to indoctrinate the people in Marxism. But education, once provided, is not subject to total control. How long will men well trained in the scientific method accept without question Party pronouncements based on the "holy" dogma? How long will millions of Russians read and Turgenev and Dostoevski and Shakespeare and Dickens and Zola before some of the ideas of these literary statesmen reveal serious cracks in the monolithic structure of Soviet society?

seems to us that mass education will present increased problems to Russian leadership. It is already a new and dynamic force that must be reckoned with.

Another force that refuses to fit neatly into the Marxist doctrine of scientific human relations is religion. We found enough evidence of spiritual vigor to suggest that the Communist concern over a religious revival is well founded. The church and synagogue and mosque labor under difficulties, but neither persecution nor persuasion has yet succeeded in removing them from the Soviet scene, and in our opinion, they are gaining rather than losing strength. We have no illusion about the extent of their current influence on Soviet policy, but we believe their emphasis on moral values and standards of conduct is adding a crucial dimension to Russian life.

The rise of a new privileged class and a highly stratified society present another force to challenge revolutionary Marxism. Communists are subject to exactly the same temptations as capitalists when they obtain positions of wealth and luxury. The successful Russian has a stake in stability, and his country home, his car and his television set may influence his thinking about domestic and international affairs more sharply than does his theoretical Marxist ideology.

The visitor finds ample evidence that this stratification has already progressed very far, at least in the European parts of the Soviet Union, and the inviting displays of consumer goods to be seen in every urban department store suggest that these materialistic temptations and pressures will become greater rather than smaller in the years ahead. Once the basic capital structure is built, the possibility that it may be used to meet internal consumer needs cannot be overlooked. Certainly the leadership will be tempted in this direction, and will face increasing pressure from the people if they fail to respond. We believe that the possibility of stable, conservative forces having an increasingly important role in Soviet life is being underestimated by the West.

#### *Controls Relaxing*

Finally, we noted some relaxation in internal controls. The police have been downgraded. The leaders appear in public without the kind of maximum security arrangements that have always surrounded them in the past. The principle of collective leadership as contrasted with one-man rule is becoming more firmly established. Some economic decentralization is occurring in both agriculture and industry in response to pressures pro-



duced by the inertia of a ponderous bureaucracy. Tourist restrictions are being eased and the exchange of cultural, scientific and economic delegations encouraged. None of these developments has progressed far and the government retains the power to reverse them if it decides to do so, but the farther they go, the more difficult it is to return to earlier patterns. In any event, we are confident that the West should seize every opportunity to encourage decentralization and relaxation and to exploit every chance for increased contact. The Soviet Union faces grave internal problems in terms of inadequate agricultural production and serious steel shortages. The time required for their solution offers not only the prospect of some diversion of Soviet attention from the international scene, but provides an opportunity for the West and particularly the United States to encourage solutions that will facilitate rather than impede these current trends toward relaxation.

We believe, therefore, that Americans now have a new and significant opportunity to develop better understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Too often all that is offered us is an armed truce in a cold war. This may well be the best governments can offer if citizens content themselves with fostering suspicion and fear. And if disaster should come from such attitudes, the blame cannot be centered on governments alone, because even a little venture now opens up vistas for action by private citizens, especially in America, which are thus far largely unexplored.

There is an important injunction to "feed our enemies if they are hungry." Sometimes to sit with those who are styled enemies and eat their bread with them also develops a new attitude on both sides. If, in practical ways, we in America, and especially those of us who call ourselves followers of Christ, are to "love our enemies," the way is open for greatly increased experimentation.

Eleanor Zelliot links  
arms with Leningrad  
school girls. Behind  
in composite picture  
rises the University  
of Moscow, which has  
22,000 students.



William B. Edgerton  
accepts strawberries  
from Baptist lay  
near Kiev. Group  
cordially received  
many chances for  
formal conversat



*They called it "a mission of good-will, a religious venture," but they added, "We were conscious of our obligation to make the journey not only with open minds and open hearts but also with open eyes. In our contacts with Soviet citizens during our visit and in our reports to our fellow citizens after our return home, we were determined to try to maintain a single standard of honesty and good-will."*

*Copies of this report may be obtained at 35 cents each by addressing the American Friends Service Committee, Incorporated, at any of the following offices:*


AUSTIN 5, Texas—2106 Nueces Street  
CAMBRIDGE 38, Massachusetts—Box 247  
CHICAGO 2, Illinois—59 E. Madison Street  
COLUMBUS 5, Ohio—1309 E. Broad Street  
DES MOINES 12, Iowa—4211 Grand Avenue  
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA—Box 3244  
NEW YORK 3, New York—141 E. 20th Street  
PASADENA, California—Box 966-M  
PHILADELPHIA 7, Pennsylvania—20 S. 12th Street  
PORTLAND 14, Oregon—1108 S. E. Grand Avenue  
RICHMOND, Indiana—8 Quaker Hill Drive  
SAN FRANCISCO 15, California—1830 Sutter Street  
SEATTLE 5, Washington—3959 Fifteenth Avenue, N.E.

*Office Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation      DATE: July 2 1951

FROM : *WFT* William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General,  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Communist Infiltration of the  
American Friends Service Committee



A review of the investigative reports furnished by the Bureau concerning the captioned organization indicates that, irrespective of the availability of informants, there is not sufficient evidence at this time to justify the filing of a petition with the Subversive Activities Control Board to require it to register as a Communist-front organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

The file on this organization will be re-examined as additional information is furnished relevant to the applicable definition and criteria under the Act.

223

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>NEW YORK</b>	Office of Origin <b>PHILADELPHIA</b>	Date <b>JUL 17 1956</b>	<b>1/30; 2/17; 3/28; 4/10; 5/10; 6/26-29/56</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE</b>		Report made by <b>[REDACTED]</b>	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>[REDACTED]</b>	
Synopsis:  <b>[REDACTED]</b>			

No local office maintained by the Community Peace Education Program in NYC. Reliable information reflects Program operates from office of American Friends Service Committee, 144 East 20th Street, NYC. Reliable information reflects that NY Community Peace Education Program group is responsible directly to AFSC Headquarters in Philadelphia. Local groups reportedly taking part in the Peace Education Program identified as Church Peace Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Porters, and the Film Peace Unit. Structure of Film Peace Unit set out. Reliable informant advised the Community Peace Education Program group met in NYC during July and August, 1955. Discussion of group centered around projects, the movie, "A Time For Greatness" and discussion of book "Speak Truth To Power." Former Community group changed to Film Peace Unit. Group met in January, 1956, and discussed future showings of movie. CP affiliation of individuals connected with group set forth.

NY. [REDACTED]

DETAILS:

I. ORIGIN AND LOCATION

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 30, 1956, that he learned from a responsible individual connected with the Community Peace Education Program that all the local groups throughout the country are left free to run their own affairs. [REDACTED]

The informant stated that [REDACTED] who has [REDACTED] heads the New York program. This informant stated that no local office is maintained by the Community Peace Education Program in New York, but that [REDACTED] directs the program from the American Friends Service Committee Office, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 30, 1956, that from his knowledge of the functioning and composition of the American Friends Service Committee, it was his opinion that all of the local groups, including the group in New York City, of the Community Peace Education Program, are autonomous.

II. SCOPE

[REDACTED] advised on April 27, 1956, that he learned that the New York Community Peace Education Program is not operating through the mid-Atlantic Region of the American Friends Service Committee, but is responsible directly to American Friends Service Committee Headquarters in Philadelphia. He stated that there are a number of local groups in the New York area which are called "cooperating groups" and take part in the Peace Education Program. Among these groups are the Church Peace Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Porters, and a group known as the Film Peace Unit.

The informant stated that the Film Peace Unit was set up by the Community Peace Education Program as the spearhead for the entire program. The purpose of this unit is to show one film entitled, "A Time For Greatness," which is the introduction to all the peace education activities of

NY [REDACTED]

the program. The point of entry of the Film Peace Unit is all educational institutions within a fifty mile radius of New York City; however, they concentrate primarily on the schools and colleges located in New York City itself. Contact with these institutions is made primarily by students and other individuals who approach the American Friends Service Committee for information of this type.

This informant stated the Film Peace Unit is composed of a team of lecturers, who go to the various educational institutions and show the film and give lectures to the groups. The informant ascertained that this group of lecturers is composed of regular American Friends Service Committee speakers, with the exception of one individual whose name is [REDACTED] who was brought to this country by the American Friends Service Committee specifically for this purpose. The purpose behind the Film Peace Unit, as described to the informant, is to "give the students some worthwhile ideas."

### III. ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] who was in a position to furnish reliable information, advised on August 17 and 23, 1956, that he learned that there has been activity on the part of the New York group of the Community Peace Education Program.

This informant stated that a meeting of this group was held on July 7, 1955, at 520 East 12th Street, New York City. [REDACTED] and after a few opening words the meeting was turned over to the floor for questions to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] One of the topics which was taken up consisted of the question about office space. It was asked whether the Community Peace Education Program could obtain office space so that it could conduct Work Shop evenings and conduct meetings in one particular spot. It was pointed out that at that time the budget of the American Friends Service Committee permits that office to be open only one night a week which hinders the Community Program. The informant stated no decision was reached on the question.

NY [REDACTED]

The informant stated that [REDACTED] addressed the group and reportedly said that New York City seemed ripe for a peace program. He [REDACTED] stated that Chicago has achieved success, but only after a three year period of trial and error. He said Chicago's work has consisted in the showing of movies, conducting opinion polls, literature and poster displays, and working with the high school students.

[REDACTED] stated that even though 90 per cent of the money for the American Friends Service Committee comes from New York, the idea of opening a regional office is not popular, probably because of the proximity of the headquarters in Philadelphia.

[REDACTED] stated that the book "Steps To Peace" may or may not be reprinted. He suggested that the film "A Time For Greatness" should be shown to local groups and also mentioned that the picture "The Fate Of A Child" is available.

This informant stated that [REDACTED] spoke of the American Friends Service Committee which he [REDACTED] described not as a membership organization but as a project organization emphasizing clothing for Korea, and spreading peace education by conducting institutes such as Avon Old Farms School at Avon, Connecticut.

[REDACTED] stated the Community Peace Education Program idea is a new one and he considered it unique and experimental. The informant advised that the group present expressed their feelings of isolation from the center of the American Friends Service Committee and expressed appreciation to [REDACTED] for his talk and information.

This informant also stated that he learned

[REDACTED] was holding the office of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further advised that on July 14, 1955, this Community Peace Education Program group held a meeting at 39 Perry Street, New York City. [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] of the meeting and the discussion was limited due to the small attendance. It was announced at the meeting that at the July 28th meeting [REDACTED] would speak on the topic of work camps.



NY [REDACTED]

The informant advised that at the July 21, 1955, meeting at 200 West 107th Street, New York, [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] of the group and discussion was centered around the picture "A Time For Greatness," and the book "Speak Truth To Power."

This informant advised that at the meeting held on July 28, 1955, at 20 Bethume Street, New York City, [REDACTED] reported for the Committee set up by the group to follow up the showing of the movie "A Time For Greatness." Her report stated that the three members of this committee felt it should work to obtain 1.) Audience feeling on the movie, and 2) if interest was shown in the Community group, visits to those interested to get their ideas.

The informant stated that [REDACTED] then read a letter from [REDACTED] whom the informant identified as [REDACTED] in the Community Peace Education Program. This letter included suggestions that the Community group obtain a speaker from the Friends group which had recently returned from Russia, and the Community group get interested in a city-wide conference on world development.

This informant stated that [REDACTED] spoke on the history and scope of work camps here and abroad from 1919, to the present, developing the idea of people together, working together with their hands, as one family.

[REDACTED] further advised that the Community Peace Education Program group held a meeting on August 4, 1955, at 350 West 55th Street, New York City, [REDACTED]. The informant stated the attendance was small and the evening's discussion centered around the tenth Anniversary of the dropping of the first A-Bomb. It was announced at the meeting that [REDACTED] found out it would be possible to have a speaker from the Friends Group who had visited Russia to speak to the Community Peace Education Program at a future meeting.

NY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on February 8, 1956, that a meeting of the group formerly known as the Community Peace Education Program, met on January 4, 1956. The informant stated the group was known as the Film Peace Unit. The informant stated that [REDACTED] opened the meeting with a short introduction of the group's work for the benefit of any new individuals. Reports were received on the showing of a Quaker film which the informant believed was titled "Quakers In Korea" at the Young Men's Hebrew Association and for an adult education group of New York University. The informant stated that new contacts were discussed for the purpose of showing the film, including churches, colleges and labor unions.

This informant stated that the United Nations film "Fate Of A Child" was shown. Those present discussed this film and felt it could be offered as a follow-up to "A Time For Greatness" and provide a jumping off point for a discussion of such projects as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and United Nations Technical Assistance.

The informant stated that he learned at the meeting that [REDACTED] was then Secretary of the Film Peace Unit

#### IV. COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS OF PERSONS MENTIONED

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO**

REPORT MADE AT  <div style="text-align: center;">CHICAGO</div>	DATE WHEN MADE  <div style="text-align: center;">7-17-58</div>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE  6/29; 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14/56	REPORT MADE BY  <div style="text-align: center;">[REDACTED]</div>
TITLE  COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY PEACE CENTER ASSOCIATION			CHARACTER OF CASE  <div style="text-align: center;">[REDACTED]</div>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

*9 American Friends Service Council*

University Peace Center Association (UPCA), Chicago, issued report concerning 2/18/56 Conference held in Chicago. Report states Community Conference on World Peace of 2/18/56 was conceived as result of the "big four" meeting and the meeting of world atomic scientists who met and discussed peaceful uses of atomic energy. Meeting planned by group of individuals living in Hyde Park - Kenwood neighborhood of Chicago, each affiliated with a peace group in the area. Conference attended by eighty-nine persons during daytime sessions, seventy during student peace conference and 350 during main address by FREDERICK SCHUMAN. Report lists sponsors of Conference including additional individuals not in original program. Program of Conference set forth listing participants in each workshop. Conference summation reflects conclusions reached at each workshop including (1) letters should be written to Congressmen requesting them to re-affirm position that colonial nations should receive their self-government through United Nations; (2) social science research can determine who makes decisions in international relations and how people can be encouraged to seek peaceful resolutions to international conflicts; (3) United States and USSR should agree to ban further H-bomb tests; (4) people should be educated to destructibility of H-bomb; (5) ease restrictions on East - West trade; (6) accept USSR proposal for world economic conference; (7) government should be asked to make Walter - Mc Carran Act less restrictive; (8) Bagdad pact is recognized

224

CG [REDACTED]

as source of power conflict between East - West; (9) United Nations should be strengthened by greater number of participating nations. MANDEL TERMAN, Chairman, Chicago Council of American - Soviet Friendship (CCASF) reports on his participation in UPCA Conference workshop "East - West contact and exchange". Communist Party (CP) member participation in Conference set forth. Decision made at Conference that permanent organization would not be set up. Characterization of Conference participants, organizations and publications mentioned in report set out.

- C -

- 1A -

CG [REDACTED]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
I. REPORT ON UPCA CONFERENCE.....	3
II. REPORT BY MANDEL TERMAN ON EAST - WEST EXCHANGE WORKSHOP.....	8
III. INFORMATION REFLECTING COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCE.....	10
IV. STATUS OF UPCA.....	11
V. CHARACTERIZATION OF CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS, ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS MENTIONED.....	12
A. Conference Participants.....	12
B. Organizations and Publications.....	21

CG [REDACTED]

All informants used in this report have provided reliable information in the past, unless otherwise indicated.

All individuals active as participants or sponsors of this Conference, who are mentioned in this report, are being characterized or identified where possible in Section Five of this report.

Those organizations which have been either designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or about which reliable informants and sources have furnished information of CP domination are characterized in Section Five of this report.

CG [REDACTED]

DETAILS:

I. REPORT ON UNIVERSITY PEACE  
CENTER ASSOCIATION (UPCA)  
CONFERENCE

T-1 on June 26, 1956 provided a mimeographed report received by the informant on June 23, 1956, which summarizes the UPCA Conference held in Chicago on February 18, 1956. This report is as follows:

"A Report on

'GENEVA: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE'  
A Community Conference and Workshop

held in Chicago, Illinois, on Saturday, February 18, 1956.

Introduction

In Geneva, Switzerland, during the summer of 1955, two historic meetings took place: first, that of the leaders of the 'big four' meeting for the first time in ten years; and then, a meeting of scientists from many nations who came to discuss peaceful uses of atomic energy. As a result of the two gatherings, people all over the world took renewed hope that peaceful methods could settle differences among nations. In order to reflect this mood and at the same time to recognize that there still remain many grave problems which require peaceful solution, the Community Conference on World Peace was conceived.

Entitled 'Geneva: New Perspectives on Peace', the Conference served to present a wide range of views on a number of issues crucial to world peace. It was planned by a group of individuals living in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood of Chicago, each one affiliated with a peace group in the area. After two preliminary meetings in November and December 1955, the group of active people divided itself into three committees: publicity, program, and arrangements. An executive secretary was employed on a part-time basis for December through the date of the conference.

CG [REDACTED]

Eighty-nine people attended the daytime sessions, many coming from other parts of Chicago and its suburbs. Over seventy attended the student peace conference which was held in conjunction. In the evening, 350 people heard Frederick Schuman deliver the main address.

To provide an opportunity for holding the Conference, thanks is due the sponsors:"

This report then lists the sponsors of the Conference including the following individuals who were not listed in the original program announcing the Conference:

"Mrs. Thomas E. Bradley, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, Dr. Vernon De Young, Alex A. Liveright, Rabbi Milton Matz, Rev. Randall Pittman, Beatrice K. Schneiderman, Rabbi Jacob M. Weinstein".

This report continues setting forth the program, workshops and conclusions which are as follows:

"Program

. Morning:

Registration

Panel discussion on problems for East-West relations posed at Geneva.

LAWRENCE SCOTT, Moderator.

PAUL B. JOHNSON, The international political problem:

ROBERT PICKUS, The domestic prerequisites for peace.

SIDNEY J. SOCOLAR, The goal of disarmament.

KERMIT EBY, Questioner.

Afternoon: Workshops

A. Colonialism--Its Part in East-West Tension.

Chairman, ROBERT MC DONALD; Resources, WILLIAM B. LLOYD, JR., Exchange Students from Africa, Asia, Latin America.

B. Contribution of Research to Peace and World

Development. Chairman, ROBERT TRUES; Resources, THEO F. LERIZ, QUINCY WRIGHT.



CG [REDACTED]

C. Disarmament.

Chairman, LAWRENCE SCOTT; Resources, FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, SIDNEY J. SOCOLAR.

D. Domestic Effects of a Long Cold War and Prerequisites for Peace. Chairman, MARJ S. ANN; Resources, Rev. L. S. FENNINGTON, ROBERT PICKUS.

E. East-West Exchange: Scientific, Cultural and Economic. Chairman, OSCAR C. BROWN, JR.; Resources, MANDEL TERMAN, PHILIP WAGNER.

F. The Middle East: Prospects for Peaceful Resolution. Chairman, BRIJEN K. GUPTA; Resources, A. KESSEL, CALVIN STILLMAN.

G. World Economic and Social Development.

Chairman, JACK URNER; Resources, CHARLES FISCHER, MARSHAL KOLIN.

H. The United Nations and World Organization.

Chairman, ELIZABETH STERNBERG; Resources, MARY HERRICK, JACK MINER.

Closing session: World Peace and Our Community - Bring our ideas to the community.

Evening:

Address by FREDERICK SCHUMAN on 'Germany and the Security of Europe'

"Conclusions"

At the closing session of the Conference, the participants expressed the opinion a positive contribution had been made to the cause of peace. It was the consensus of the group that a report of the Conference be circulated to newspapers, clergy, and other people in the community. An attempt has been made to produce a report of the proceedings of each workshop, but lack of personnel has made that impossible. What follows is a report of the various workshops as they were summarized extemporaneously by the participants of the closing session.

A. Colonialism--Its Part in East-West Tension.

1. In 1952, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution stating that colonial nations should receive their self-government through the United Nations. Letters should be written to Congressmen requesting them to reaffirm their position on this issue.
2. Economic rather than military aid should be given to the under developed countries.

B. Contribution of Research to Peace and World Development.

Utilizing research in the social sciences, one can make studies of how decisions in international relations are actually made, who makes them, and how these people and organizations can be encouraged to seek peaceful resolutions to international conflict.

C. Disarmament.

1. There is a need to work out diplomatic relations on the question of disarmament.
2. An agreement should be reached between the US and USSR on banning further H-bomb tests.

D. Domestic Effects of a Long Cold War and Prerequisite for Peace.

1. All persons interested in peace should join with others to express this concern.
2. The inevitability of war should be rejected.
3. Education as to the destructability of H-bomb war is a method for encouraging people to work for peace.

E. East-West Exchange: Scientific, Cultural and Economic

1. Ease the restrictions on trade between East and West.
2. Accept proposal by USSR to hold a world economic conference.
3. Stimulate and extend exchange between church, PTA, and student groups, etc.
4. The Walter-McCarren Act is a deterrent to cultural and scientific exchange. The government should be asked to make the act less restrictive.
5. Encourage cultural exchange, i.e., films, artists, etc.
6. Implement Secretary of State Dulles: 19 points East-West exchange delivered to Foreign Ministers Conference, October 1955.

F. The Middle East: Prospects for Peaceful Resolution

1. Meeting of conflicting middle eastern powers should be established through the United Nations as a means of easing the conflict.
2. Bagdad Pact is recognized as a source of power conflict between East and West.
3. Declare an embargo on the shipment of arms in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

G. World Economic and Social Development.

The cold war vastly complicates the problems of developing the underdeveloped countries of the world. This requires a considerable commitment of capital and the utilization of competent technical personnel from the more highly developed countries.

H. The United Nations and World Organization.

1. United Nations needs the support of individuals and groups such as church, school, civic, etc.
2. UN should be strengthened by greater numbers of participating nations."

CG [REDACTED]

II. REPORT BY MANDEL TERMAN  
ON EAST - WEST EXCHANGE  
WORKSHOP

T-2 on March 29, 1956 made available the March, 1956 Volume I, Number 6, issue of "Friendship", the monthly bulletin of the Chicago Council of American - Soviet Friendship (CCASF). Page ten of this bulletin contains an article entitled, "TERMAN Reports on Conference by MANDEL A. TERMAN, Chairman". This article by TERMAN is as follows:

"TERMAN REPORTS ON CONFERENCE  
BY MANDEL A. TERMAN, CHAIRMAN

"I was very fortunate, a few weeks ago, in having the privilege of participating in a cultural neighborhood - level 'Conference on New Perspectives for Peace' organized by students, faculty - members, and community residents of the Woodlawn - Hyde Park area.

"Among the several panel - discussions on various aspects of peace problems, was one on East - West contact exchange. Prof. WAGNER of the U. of C. and I were invited to lead the discussion and Mr. OSCAR BROWN, JR., of the U. of C. Packinghouse Workers served as moderator.

"Toward the end of the discussion, the question came up on what could be done for exchange on the neighborhood person-to-person, organization-to-organization level and here were some of the suggestions:

"1. Local community groups, like PTAs, religious groups, fraternal, labor union and others, to establish direct correspondence - contact with similar groups in similar communities in the USSR.

"2. Exchange, on the neighborhood level, of exhibits, children's art, with groups in the USSR.

"3. Exchange of films and slides, particularly documentaries, possibly even amateur movies made in the neighborhood, and use of documentary films already available.

"4. Student exchange, correspondence with student groups in the USSR.

CC [REDACTED]

"We would like to hear from readers of our Bulletin what they think of the possibilities of some such exchange ideas on their neighborhood, union or other organization level.

"NOTE: The organizers of this Conference are preparing reports of the discussions and conclusions which will be available in printed form shortly. Write to Miss EVELYN SHANN, American Friends Service Committee, 59 east Madison Street, Chicago 2, Illinois."

CG [REDACTED]

#### IV. STATUS OF UPCA

T-3 on March 1, 1956 advised it was decided at the UPCA Conference not to set up a permanent organization but to work for the holding of similar conferences in other areas. Informant said it was possible that some form of a permanent organization could be established at some later date.

CG [REDACTED]

V. CHARACTERIZATION OF CONFERENCE  
PARTICIPANTS, ORGANIZATIONS AND  
PUBLICATIONS MENTIONED

A. Conference Participants

CG [REDACTED]

### B. Organizations and Publications

#### American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFEB)

The ACFEB has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### Chicago Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (CCRMA)

T-6, on May 23, 1955, advised that while the CCRMA was formed in 1950 by the Civil Rights Congress, in 1953 it came under the leadership and control of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which is the midwest organization of the ACFEB.

#### Chicago Council of American - Soviet Friendship (CCASF)

T-6, on May 12, 1955, advised that the CCASF, since its inception in Chicago in the 1940's, has never failed to propagandize for Russia and the Russian way of life. The informant further advised that the CCASF has been using speakers who were known to the informant as members of the CP since the first meetings in the 1940's. The informant advised that the program of the CCASF has always included speakers, movies and pamphlets praising every aspect of Russia, including its foreign policy, and has been extremely critical of the United States domestic and foreign policy.

#### Civil Rights Congress (CRC)

The CRC has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

#### Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact has been cited as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives



CG [REDACTED]

to the Atlantic Pact and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 2, Illinois; and to further the cause of "Communists in the United States" doing "their part in the Moscow campaign." (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report Number 378 on the Communist "peace" offensive, April 25, 1951, original date, April 1, 1951, page 54).

Communist Party, USA

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Daily Worker," "The Worker"

"The Worker" is the Sunday edition of the "Daily Worker", an east coast Communist daily newspaper.

"Friendship"

"Friendship" is a publication which identifies itself as the monthly bulletin of the CCASF.

Hyde Park Committee for Peaceful Alternatives (HPCPA)

T-11, on March 30, 1956, advised that the HPCPA is one of two committees making up the Illinois Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

Illinois Committee for Peaceful Alternatives (ICPA)

T-6, on May 12, 1955, advised that the Illinois Chapter of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives is an affiliate of the National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives.

T-6, on September 1, 1951, advised that the National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives is composed of

CG [REDACTED]

intellectuals and religious workers. The informant advised this organization is infiltrated but not controlled by CP members.

John Reed Club

A Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of March 29, 1944, page 175, identified John Reed Clubs of the United States as "named after the founder of the American Communist Party."

The Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pages 462, 466, identified John Reed Clubs of the United States as "among organizations created or controlled by the Communist Party or part of a united front with the Party, which supported the First United States Congress Against War. The Congress was openly led by the Communists."

Midwest Committee for Protection  
of Foreign Born (MCPFB)

T-6, on May 12, 1955, advised that the MCPFB was formed in the late 1940's and was at that time and up to May, 1955, the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

T-12, on March 2, 1956, advised that the MCPFB has been, since May 1, 1955, the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

National Council of American -  
Soviet Friendship (NCASF)

The NCASF has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Physicians Forum

In a report entitled "Subversive Influence in the Education Process" made by the Sub-Committee to Investigate

CG [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, 1952, on page 37, testimony of BELLA DODD, member of the National Committee of the CP, from 1944 to 1948, is reflected. DODD testified that the Physicians Forum was established primarily by the CP. She explained that although not all members of the Physicians Forum were Communists, "initiative for organizing the Physicians Forum came from the CP, came from the 9th floor, where the National Committee of the CP existed."

Socialist Union of America (SUA)

T-13, on November 8, 1954, advised that the Socialist Union of America (SUA) was formed as a result of a split from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on November 21, 1953 at the Midwest Founding Conference, Detroit, Michigan. The informant stated that the primary reason for the split was that the minority group led by BERT COCHRAN, also known as Cochranites, believed the organization should enter into other left-wing groups, such as the Communist Party (CP) with the intention of swinging these groups right or left, thereby, bringing about a revolution sooner.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Vienna Peace Congress (VPC)

T-11, on February 2, 1954, described the VPC as a Communist inspired convention held in Vienna, Austria, from December 12 through December 19, 1952, and was attended by representatives from approximately eighty nations. The informant stated that speeches and exhibitions at the Congress were strongly anti-United States with the purpose of showing this country as a threat to world peace.

- C -

- 24 -

[REDACTED]

CG [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

This case is being closed since, as previously reported, the UPCA is organized for the purpose of holding this one conference. No information has been received reflecting any other conferences are planned or plans to set up a permanent organization.

One extra copy of this report is being furnished the Bureau for its file on COMINFIL, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE [REDACTED]

One copy of this report is being furnished the Philadelphia Office, O.O., on COMINFIL, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. (It is noted that the American Friends Service Committee cooperated in holding this conference and some of the active participants are officers or active in the AFSC.)

One extra copy is being designated for the Chicago Office for its file on COMINFIL, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

DATE: 7/25/56

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]

00-Pr

Rerep of SA [REDACTED] dated 7/17/56, at New York.

Rerep reflects that the New York Office is maintaining instant case in a pending inactive status with a lead for New York to follow and report the activities of subject organization.

Inasmuch as rerep reflects activity on the part of subject organization in New York and the New York Office is maintaining this case in a pending inactive status, Philadelphia is placing its case file in a pending inactive status and will follow and report any activities on the part of subject organization.

8-22-56

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL REGISTERED

San Francisco

Director, FBI

Re FOairtel 7/31/56 wherein SF was requested to conduct investigation requested by USA OLIVER GASCH.

Item #12 of USA GASCH's letter requested that San Francisco reinterview [redacted], an official of the AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC), SF, in detail re his knowledge of [redacted]. It is noted that [redacted] was previously interviewed 10/20/54 and on 4/25/56 re [redacted]. He then recalled that [redacted] spoke in 1954 at a FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE in Berkeley, California.

[redacted] was contacted 8/20/56 at the AFSC, 1830 Sutter St., SF, by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]. He made a record of interviewing Agents' names and credential numbers. He then explained in a cordial manner that interviews of AFSC personnel by representatives of investigative agencies were now being handled in accord with recent instructions from AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia. He explained that AFSC personnel, according to this nationwide directive, are now required to take detailed notes during these interviews. The copy of this record is maintained by the local AFSC office, and a second copy is furnished to the person who is the subject of the inquiry. [redacted] was asked if this policy also pertained to inquiries regarding matters such as bank robbery or kidnaping. He stated that he did not know whether that policy was to be followed in situations of that nature, and explained that his contacts with investigative personnel had been limited to security matters and re conscientious objectors.

225

8/20/56

PAGE TWO

SF [REDACTED]  
Director, FBI [REDACTED]

Interviewing SAs explained that the Bureau's inquiry was of a confidential nature, and declined to interview [REDACTED] under those conditions at that time.

Noted Philadelphia report SA [REDACTED], 2/24/55, re Communist infiltration of the American Friends Service Committee, [REDACTED], reflects that AFSC is not an official organ of religious SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, although corporate membership of AFSC is limited to members of SOCIETY. SF is unaware if policy of AFSC re interviews is followed by SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, and would therefore be followed by personnel of Friends Meeting House, Berkeley.

It is requested that SF be advised of the desires of the USA and the Bureau re the interview of [REDACTED], and interview of personnel of the Friends Meeting House, Berkeley, Calif.

It is requested that Philadelphia furnish any available information regarding the national AFSC and Society of Friends policies toward interviews. If the procedure described by [REDACTED] has been adopted by the AFSC and the Society of Friends, it is felt that the Bureau might wish to advise all offices of this situation, together with any Bureau instructions re contacts with AFSC or Friends.

FBI DEPT OF JUSTICE  
VUC SS 5 03 PM '56  
RECEIVED TELETYPE UNIT

September 29, 1956

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed you will find an editorial from a Houston newspaper. We have been supporting the American Friends Service Committee for some twenty five years so now are reserving judgement.

It is possible that many members of the Friendswood Quarterly Meeting, mentioned in the editorial, are waiting until there are more facts in before forming a judgement. We feel that all of them would value an opinion by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Faithfully yours,

227



## Local Quakers Disown Leftist Friends Service Committee

Many Americans will agree with the stand taken by the Friendswood quarterly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in repudiating the American Friends Service Committee. The Quakers in this area voted unanimously to disown the committee as their relief agency.

The local Quakers leveled a number of charges at the American Friends Service Committee, among them one which has been heard frequently from other sources in recent years, that the committee is "furthering communistic propaganda." The Texas group will seek to have similar action taken at the Kansas yearly meeting, which includes Quakers in Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Texas and Colorado.


The American Friends Service Committee is fairly well known in Houston. There have been a number of

controversies involving meetings it sponsors here. Chief among the complaints have been the speakers brought to these meetings. Some of the speakers have records of extreme leftist leanings and have citations against them by the House un-American activities committee.

Harold A. Selleck, pastor of the Bayshore Friends Church at Bacliff, said no Texas Quaker is a member of the American Friends Service Committee.

The committee, by indulging in left-wing political activities, has done a disservice to the Quaker faith. This faith has given the United States many of its distinguished citizens, among them former President Herbert Hoover. The public will be sympathetic toward the Quakers in trying to maintain their good name.

ENCLOSURE

  
The Houston Chronicle  
Houston, Texas.  
August 29, 1956

October 8, 1956

Dear

Your letter dated September 29, 1956, with enclosure, has been received.

While I would like very much to be of help in connection with your suggestion that I comment on the organization you mentioned, I regret it is impossible for me to do so because of the confidential nature of FBI files. This Bureau is strictly a fact-gathering agency, and information in our files is available for official use only. We make no evaluations and draw no conclusions as to the character or integrity of individuals, publications or organizations.

I trust that you will not infer from my inability to be of assistance either that we do or that we do not have information pertaining to the subject matter of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

2

Letter to [REDACTED]

October 8, 1956


NOTE: Bufile [REDACTED] reflects that American Friends Service Committee has opposed military conflict, preparedness and drafting of men since its foundation in 1917. It is very active in local and foreign relief. During World War II it assisted conscientious objectors, and in cooperation with the U. S. Government aided in reallocating Japanese from the west coast. It sponsored and aided Pendle Hill, a school for study of racial and religious problems in Wallingsford, Pennsylvania. This school had occasional visitors who were security risks, but there was no indication that they carried on subversive activities through or at Pendle Hill. There have been reports of communist infiltration, and in 1942, American Friends Service Committee was investigated under the caption, [REDACTED] and was found not engaged in subversive activities. [REDACTED] is not identifiable in Bufiles.

Chairman  
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary  
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus  
CLARENCE F. BUCKLEY

American Friends Service Committee  
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street  
Philadelphia 7,  Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

October 16, 1956

Dear Friend:

We create, by some higher drive of spirit, visions of a world that ought to be, and those visions make us forever dissatisfied with the world that is. It is through these visions that we reshape and reconstruct the world that is being made. - Rufus M. Jones

Helping "to reshape and reconstruct the world" is the task to which the American Friends Service Committee is dedicated.

In India, Italy, and El Salvador, and among American Indians, for example, the Committee aids villagers to reshape their own world of depressing poverty. New ideas in care of health, raising of food, and earning a living, presented with sensitivity to cultural values, often bring about changed attitudes and self-confidence. These people are then better able to continue on their own initiative to cope with their problems.

Among young people in this country and abroad, we seek to broaden their horizons through summer projects such as work camps and international student seminars, through school affiliation, and through activities in neighborhood centers in Germany, Japan, and Israel. We hope they will catch a vision of the world that ought to be, for they will be the vital leaders of tomorrow.

Recently we have undertaken a program to help smooth the way from segregated to integrated schools in a limited area of the South. In addition, we continue to press for equal housing and job opportunities for minorities in several parts of the United States so that their world may be changed for the better.

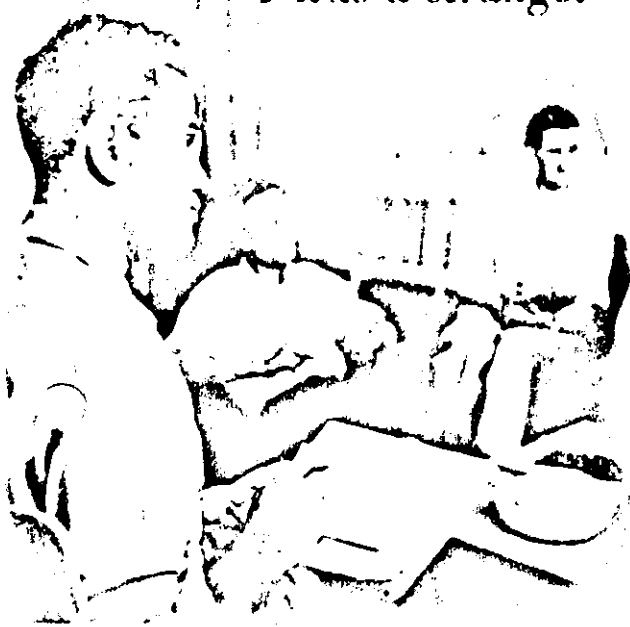
Our conferences for diplomats of many countries provide an opportunity for them to come together in an informal way and discuss their problems as representatives of nations. These meetings, held in a setting conducive to mutual helpfulness and deeper understanding, are a new technique for working toward a lessening of world tensions. It was encouraging to us to have representatives from the Soviet Union and Poland at the most recent conference.

In the enclosed folder you will read of some of these other ways in which we work to make reality of our vision. We hope it is your vision, too, and that you will want to contribute as generously as you can. Your gift will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

  
Lewis M. Hoskins

Our friends often urge us to make the Committee's work more widely known. If you are already a contributor, we hope you will understand that our policy of low-cost



THIS YOUNG EGYPTIAN wants to prepare for leadership responsibility. His country, struggling to find its place in the modern world, needs men of vision. This calls for something beyond formal education. So he takes part in

an AFSC international seminar with 29 other leaders-to-be from 20 other countries. Four weeks of talk and tennis, dishwashing and discussion in this miniature world community help reveal the human values that transcend national divisions.

The world is too small today for any to remain strangers. The AFSC works in several ways to bring together persons from different national backgrounds:

- International centers support creative contacts at such world crossroads as Washington, New York (United Nations), Geneva, Paris, Vienna, Delhi and Tokyo.
- Younger diplomats from around the globe discover new bases for understanding in informal conferences in Europe and Asia.
- Government, embassy and press groups in Washington explore current social research bearing on international relations. A similar seminar meets at the U.N.
- International student centers, like the seminars in the U. S., Europe and Asia, are concerned with those who soon will be in responsible roles.

person asks for help. Here are stories of six persons who needed help. Each one found what he needed through the

## AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

*—because persons like you made it possible*

*... unto  
one  
of  
the  
least...*



### I was naked

*... gave money and materials. Together they show the love of God in service. The spirit remains that of one person reaching out to one other person.*

**I was a stranger**

... help housing in a blighted Philadelphia area.

At the Religious Society of Friends, often called Quakers, the AFSC is supported and staffed by people of many faiths. Its cash budget for 1956-57 is approximately \$3,145,000; clothing and U. S. surplus foods valued at \$3,500,000 are anticipated. It has 12 regional offices located at Austin, Texas; Cambridge, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; Columbus, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; Greensboro, N. C.; Pasadena, Calif.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Portland, Ore.; Richmond, Ind.; San Francisco, Calif.; and Seattle, Wash.

## American Friends Service Committee

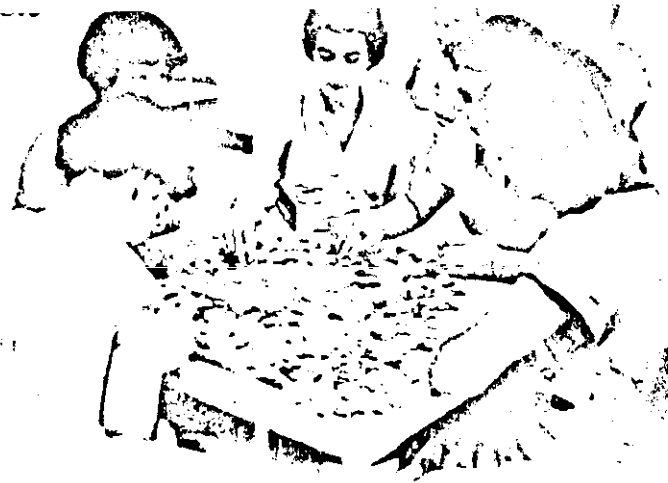
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street  
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania



In service—as with these warehouse volunteers—youth finds a broader horizon and age knows a continuing usefulness.

Photos by Worth, Prem Prakesh, Campbell Hays, Devigne, Hetzel  
No. 327—125M—8-56—S.E. ♦♦♦



THIS GIRL learned about mental illness during ten weeks as an attendant in a hospital. As a member of an AFSC-arranged project she found how loving care can win response from clouded minds. She may decide on a career that will help the mentally ill. Or she may use her experience someday as background for citizen action—in a local mental health society or when she marks her ballot on a bond issue.

Other young people look at how they also can be part of the cure rather than part of social ills. About 1000 enter AFSC projects

for a summer or longer. Many more take part in week-end projects.

Besides institutional service units, projects include:

- U. S. work camps to help Indians, migrants and urban slum dwellers.
- Village work projects in Mexico and El Salvador.
- Overseas work camps in Europe, Japan, Israel and Kenya.
- Internes in low-paying industrial jobs.
- Internes in community-serving agencies.
- Seminars on domestic and international problems.

WASH DC



- School affiliations link more than 200 U. S. and overseas schools to exchange letters, projects and persons.
- Educational materials relate thousands of children to world needs through service projects.
- Radio discussions of domestic and world affairs are provided for educational and other stations.

THE BARS on this prison did not keep this Negro child in. They kept her out. It was the prison of race discrimination. Only one per cent of new post-war private housing has been open to Negroes, who are a tenth of the population. But now she can grow up in a neighborhood happy and strong in its diversity. Her parents and others had the counsel of an AFSC staff member as they worked for new housing patterns. The AFSC is helping to develop more opportunities in several localities.

Persons who know other barriers get AFSC support. Merit employment programs operate in three northern and three southern cities. (Local church and business leaders have taken over the five-year-old Dallas program.)

Indians face additional problems as federal supervision decreases. The AFSC helps meet various needs on reservations and in crowded cities in Arizona, California and South Dakota.

Other programs touch integrating schools in North Carolina and elsewhere, Latin-Americans in Texas, migrants in Northern California, prisoners and parolees in California and self-help housing in a blighted Philadelphia area.



*Fortunately, the six stories in this folder can be multiplied by tens or hundreds or even thousands — because many persons care about others. Much more remains to be done. But each act of helping one other person releases its share of love and hope to challenge the hate and fear in the world.*

*While the needs are enormous, each of us must do what he can. Some things can be done most readily through joint effort. Some persons give their time as local volunteers or unsalaried overseas workers. Many give money and materials. Together they show the love of God in service. The spirit remains that of one person reaching out to one other person.*

UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

UNITED METHODIST CHURCH



THIS ITALIAN LAD was born into the poverty that goes with poor land, poor health and being almost cut off from the rest of the world for four centuries. He is warm now in his fine coat. Even when the classroom at the literacy center gets chilly, he can sit quietly while his father drinks in ideas that will enrich his life. People who can feel comfortable and self-respecting are more ready to change their own lives.

The AFSC hopes to send a million pounds of clothing and other supplies given by individuals and businesses—plus 12 million pounds of U. S. farm surpluses—to meet special welfare needs in ten countries this year.

But direct relief ought usually to be for a short term—until a person can become self-sufficient. Most Quaker service tries to help people take hold of their own problems. That's healthier for the receiver, and healthier for the giver.



HIS DRINKING WATER used to come from a pond where men and animals bathed and drank. Now this Indian tot pumps safe water from his grandfather's covered well. An AFSC

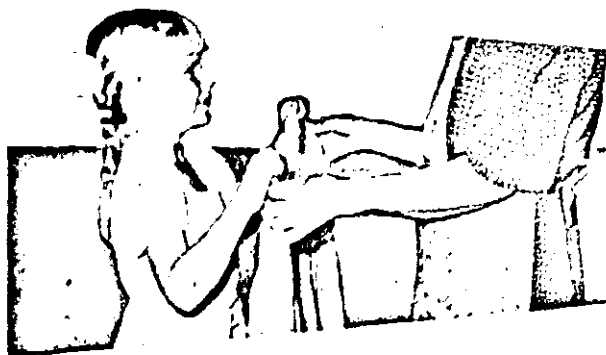
worker in India designed the well and helped install the pump. Though the well is in a private courtyard, the glad owner is ready to let others use it.

Add together many ideas for health and food production, child care and cottage industry, literacy and community organization. Shape them to local patterns. Help people weave them into their own lives. Call it village work or neighborhood centers or community development. In forms to fit varied conditions the AFSC helps it along in India, Pakistan, Korea, Japan, Israel, Italy, Germany, El Salvador and on U. S. Indian reservations. (Several projects have moved toward self-sufficiency during the past year.)

BESIDES FEEDING persons' bodies, the AFSC tries to satisfy other hungers. This high school girl is eager to know her world and the things that make for peace. Her home town seems remote from national and international decisions. Now in Washington she points a question on racial problems to a South African embassy official. She is one of 25 teen-agers who are spending a long week-end in the nation's capital. They can document their study of public issues with visits to those who are directly involved.

Several times a year the AFSC brings high school or college-age groups to Washington or the United Nations. At other age levels, too, the AFSC works at satisfying minds hungry for world understanding:

- Community conferences and summer institutes in many places in the U. S. inform adults, students, families and prepare them for individual action.
- Organized church groups are offered guidance in their peace emphasis.



**I was thirsty**

© 1968 AFSC



Enclosed is my contribution for the work  
of the American Friends Service Committee.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

FIRST CLASS  
PERMIT NO. 170  
DEC. 24.9 P. L. &  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

**BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE**

NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET

PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] DATE: 10/12/56  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED]  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY FRONT ORGANIZATIONS  
AND INFILTRATION OF RIGHT LED ORGANIZATIONS  
[REDACTED]

Chicago Co-Ordinating  
Committee on Disarmament (CCCD)

ReBulet and Chicago letter dated October 5, 1956, both captioned "Chicago Co-Ordinating Committee on Disarmament, [REDACTED]"; Chicago letter to Bureau entitled "American Association for the United Nations, Inc., Illinois and Greater Chicago Division, [REDACTED]" dated April 9, 1956, and Bulet dated October 5, 1956 entitled "Cominfil of American Friends Service Committee, [REDACTED]".

On July 12, 1956, [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA [REDACTED] with the resolutions of the 2nd Chicago Disarmament Conference held May 12, 1956, which are set out as follows:

"PREAMBLE:

"The goal of universal, comprehensive, controlled disarmament must continually be kept in sight. The human will can achieve this goal and the means of stimulating that will must be studied.

CG [REDACTED]

"1. Development of an atmosphere favorable to disarmament."

"The causes of military policies are complex, but in the main, nations arm because they wish to change the policy or practices of other countries, or because they fear others are planning to change their policies or practices. Special interests that profit by military preparation exert some, but not a major, influence on armament policies. The suggestion that the American economy depends upon military expenditures is also a limited truth. There is evidence, especially from the years immediately after World War II, that a free economy can progress by programs of peaceful economic development initiated by government and industry.

"Every nation tends to disarm under tax payers pressure and the desire to use armament savings for economic development, if all nations are moderately satisfied with the political situation or are convinced that necessary changes can be effected by peaceful methods, and if none fears attack or military pressure. So long as either the east or the west plans to "liberate" peoples by military means, peace will be precarious.

"Political negotiations to settle present disputes, establishment of agencies and procedures adequate to settle future disputes, arrangements for assuring collective security against aggression, development and strengthening of international law and a broader sense of world citizenship and the criminality of aggressive war, and international cooperation for eliminating serious grievances contribute to removing national dissatisfactions and fears, and to create an atmosphere favorable to disarmament.

"The conference therefore urges:

"1. Continual efforts to settle concrete issues between the United States and the Soviet Union;

"2. Continual strengthening of the United Nations so that it may achieve its purposes, and use of its facilities to settle disputes to eliminate inequalities among peoples, and to elevate levels of living;

CG [REDACTED]

"3. National and International planning to ease the transition from a war to a peace economy with public works programs to relieve anxieties concerning unemployment and disarmament proceeds;

"4. High level declarations or suitable occasions to establish confidence in the peaceful intentions of governments.

## "II. Immediate steps Toward Disarmament

"Armament building by one state generates fear of attack by others inducing an arms race which continually augments tensions, often eventuating in war. Consequently, disarmament agreements should not wait upon the success of political activities to reduce international tensions.

"The destructiveness of modern weapons makes major war mutually suicidal and irrational, yet such wars might result from the expansion of a "nibbling aggression", from the conviction of a government that another government is about to attack and consequently it must gain the advantage of prior attack, or from the conviction by a state that it is losing in the arms race and will eventually have to submit to domination.

"To alleviate these dangers, immediate steps should be taken to organize collective security through the United Nations against "nibbling aggression", to eliminate fears of sudden attack, to stop the arms race, to limit the threat of thermonuclear war, and to assure immediate knowledge of the breach of any disarmament agreement.

"To these ends:

"1. We resolve since testing of large nuclear weapons can be detected at a distance; since the genetic, psychological, moral and political effects of such tests are harmful, and since the United States has conducted more nuclear tests than any other government, a telegram should be sent immediately to President Eisenhower urging him to declare that the United States will suspend further

CG [REDACTED]

nuclear tests of a type detectable at a distance so long as other governments abstain from such tests. We also urge the negotiation of a treaty banning tests of nuclear weapons of a type detectable at a distance and providing for monitoring by a United Nations agency through posts at suitable points in the world. No party to such treaty should be free to terminate its obligation until the United Nations agency has found that another state has made a test contrary to its obligations.

"2. We urge establishment of an international agency, similar to the "Atoms for Peace" agency, for the scientific development of intercontinental rockets and earth satellites, thus eliminating secrecy on this subject and directing scientific advance in the field to human purposes not to mutual destruction. We favor agreements banning the testing of long range missiles by national governments as soon as radar and other missiles for detecting such tests are perfected, and urge study of the problem by a suitable international agency.

"3. We support agreement for aerial and ground inspections to assure immediate knowledge of any mobilizing for attack, and to facilitate the conclusion of such an agreement, the conference urges immediate agreement to conduct demonstration tests in selected non-sensitive areas of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"4. We urge negotiations, as a first step in reduction of armaments, of an arms truce, assuring for a period of time no substantial increase of military budgets, of stock piles of weapons, or of number of effectives such truce to be verified by full exchange of military budgets and blue prints of armaments and armed forces.

"5. We urge establishment under the United Nations of an armament control agency to receive, analyze and disseminate information on armaments, to supervise aerial and ground inspections, to agree upon programs of disarmament, and to decide, with aid of advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, upon any violation of an armament or arms testing agreement.

CG [REDACTED]

"III. Action in the Chicago area.

"To maintain active interest in the problem of disarmament and peace in the Chicago Area, we urge that a permanent continuing Chicago Coordinating Council on Disarmament under the leadership of the local United Nations Association be established through the initiative of Mrs. Elda Maynard, director of that association, among the organizations here represented, to exchange information and ideas on the subject, to arrange conferences, to urge hearings in the area by the Senate subcommittee on disarmament, to study local opinion on the subject, and to stimulate the will to achieve disarmament and peace."

On July 30, 1956, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA [REDACTED] with information concerning a July 9, 1956 meeting of the CCCD which meeting was held under the leadership of the AAUN. Informant advised that [REDACTED], was scheduled to speak before the Democratic National Convention concerning the resolutions made at the May 12, 1956 Disarmament Conference, mentioned above.

Files of the Chicago Office fail to indicate CP membership or strict adherence to CP policies on the part of [REDACTED]

Informant reported that the purpose of the Coordinating Committee meetings was to promote and publicize the subject of disarmament to the public. The source made available the mimeographed minutes of

CG [REDACTED]

the first meeting of the CCCD. The meeting was called to by [REDACTED] of the AAUN and present at the meeting were representatives of the following groups:

United World Federalists  
Congregational Women's Fellowship  
Council of Catholic Women  
YMCA  
American Humanist Association  
Chicago Ethical Society  
Independent Voters of Illinois  
Atomic Scientists of Chicago  
Cooperative League of the USA  
American Friends Service Committee

[REDACTED] who represented the American Friends Service Committee, and [REDACTED] who represented the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, were present at this meeting.

The topic for discussion was whether there should be another disarmament conference in Chicago. It was agreed that another conference should be held, probably in February, 1957. It was suggested that a member of the United Nations [REDACTED] be among the speakers.

CG [REDACTED]

It is noted that re Chicago letter dated April 9, 1956 entitled "American Association for the United Nations Inc., Illinois and Greater Chicago Division, [REDACTED] set out information regarding the national officers as well as the Chicago officers of this organization. Among the prominent people who are connected with this organization are SUMNER WELLES, former Under-Secretary of State, Honorary President of the national organization, Mrs. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Chairman, Board of Governors, national organization, and ADLAI E. STEVENSON, member, Board of Directors, Illinois Division.

No further investigation of the CCCD, which is under the leadership of the AAUN, other than informant coverage will be made at this time and UACB, this file will be closed until such time as it appears that the CP is effecting some domination or control of this organization.



CG [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Cominfil American Service  
Friends Committee (AFSC) (Bufile [REDACTED])

Rebulet October 5, 1956 captioned above instructed Chicago to furnish the Bureau with a report incorporating all information contained in the files of its office since the submission of the report of SA [REDACTED] Jr. dated August 24, 1955 at Chicago. Relet further instructed that the Bureau be hereafter promptly advised upon receipt of information concerning "newly formed known or suspected Communist front organizations" and also cases previously closed or RUC'd by this office and then reopened for investigation.

As the Bureau is aware, the AFSC has connections with the Religious Society of Friends originally incorporated in 1917. Philadelphia is office of origin in this case and Chicago is only in possession to two reports of the office of origin, these being the report of SA [REDACTED] Philadelphia, February 24, 1955 and of SA [REDACTED] dated August 18, 1955. The aims and purposes of the AFSC are allezedly to relieve human suffering and to ease tensions between individuals, groups, and nations.

This organization, therefore, does not come within the definition of a Communist front organization. On the contrary, there is evidence that it is a "right led pacificist group" and is so recognized by the CP.

Chicago files contain information received subsequent to the report of SA [REDACTED] dated August 24, 1955. This information consists of AFSC participation in a number of conferences, meetings, etc, with known Communist led peace organizations as well as information concerning numerous meetings or its own sponsorship on the subject of peace and foreign policy. Some of these meetings were participated in by known members of the CP. On August 25, 1955, [REDACTED] reportedly met with Quakers in Chicago and was cordially received and promised financial aid in his [REDACTED] trial.

CG [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

On October 5, 1956 [REDACTED] of the AFSC was Chairman of a symposium entitled "What's Next for the American Left?" It was held in Chicago. This symposium had such speakers at it as [REDACTED] of the Socialist Union of America, [REDACTED] of the CP, USA, [REDACTED] of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and [REDACTED] of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Present CP Position Regarding  
CP Front Organizations and Tactics of  
CP in "Non-Communist Right  
Led Organizations"

This letter is submitted under the above caption because it is believed to involve a policy matter which requires clarification in the light of the new CP tactics of abolishment of its "CP front organizations" as such, and of redirecting its members for tactical reasons to a promotion of the Party "united front" program of working within "non-Communist right led mass organizations."

Section 87E of the manual relates to Communist front organizations, nationalist type organizations, and miscellaneous organizations. Specific instructions exist as to organizations that are political in character, to PTA, etc. There are no specific instructions contained therein regarding the handling of cases involving Cominfil of religious, semi-religious, pacifist, or other "right led" organizations that the CP is working in at the present time in connection with the development of its united front program.

CG [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Information regarding the current CP program on the issues of peace and foreign policies and the Party's program of activities in peace and pacifist organizations, is set forth in Chicago letter to the Bureau of January 10, 1956 entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, DISTRICT #8, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES", Bufile [REDACTED]

It appears that the question in these cases resolves itself into a policy matter which would include the question of possible embarrassment to the Bureau by an investigation of religious, pacifist, and political organizations which are not Communist fronts or Communist controlled, and, in fact, are "right led organizations". The United Nations Association

CG [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

is another organization falling into this category. Communists are working in this "right led" organization which has as one of its sponsors [REDACTED].

As the united front of the CP continues to develop and gain momentum, an ever increasing number of individual members of the CP will be noted participating in the activities of a number of "right led" mass organizations. They are now participating in the affairs of the Republican and Democratic parties, in B'nai Brith, in church groups, and in other similar types of organizations. At first, Communists will work in these organizations and not necessarily control them but instead, will attempt to influence their policies and programs when they coincide with the desires of the Party on issues. It is felt that instructions are necessary to supplement 87E of the manual with regard to when investigations should be initiated in right led mass organizations in which the CP members are designated to work in but not necessarily to control.

With regard to the Bureau's request for a report on the American Friends Service by November 5, 1956 this office will hold the preparation of this report in abeyance until instructions are received from the Bureau.

In connection with the above observations, this office has gone into considerable length, but it was thought necessary to develop the matter fully along these lines in order that the Bureau could have the complete thinking of this office.

In view of this new overall tactic of the CP to place its members in non-Communist "right led mass organizations" rather than working within its own "left led" or front organizations, it is the view of this office that this is a new problem which requires new consideration with regard to the handling and reporting of information concerning these "right led" mass organizations where Communists are working within these organizations for tactical reasons. If the Bureau's views are that investigations should be conducted whenever it is determined that Communists are working in "right led" organizations, it would necessarily

CG [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

follow that investigations could be required on religious organizations, all pacifist organizations, and even on the Republican and Democratic parties.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO [REDACTED]

DATE: November 15, 1956

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]

Rebulet 10/5/56; CG let entitled "Communist Party Front Organizations and Infiltration of Right Led Organizations, [REDACTED] dated 10/12/56; and Bulet 11/8/56 advising CG to handle this matter in accordance with provisions of SAC Letter [REDACTED].

A review of the file of the captioned organization fails to reflect that the Communist Party has "specifically" instructed its members to infiltrate this organization, nor is there evidence that the Communist Party has infiltrated the organization in sufficient strength to influence or control it.

In view of the above, no authority to investigate this organization is being requested from the Bureau; however, Chicago will continue to carefully be on the alert for evidence of Communist Party specific instructions to infiltrate the organization.

Mr. Morley

December 6, 195

AIRTEL

SACs, New York  
Albany  
Chicago  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland  
Los Angeles  
Pittsburgh  
San Francisco

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, INTERNAL SECURITY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that the National Office of the Young Socialist League (YSL) is planning to form a committee to start a drive on civil rights on a national basis. This committee is to involve the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Socialist Party (SP), and any other organization available to participate. The committee is to be controlled by the YSL and is intended to show student solidarity with the Negro struggle. The idea of the committee is to raise money and donate it to causes such as the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycotts. The campaign is scheduled to start in early December and the informant advised that to date this committee has not been named.

All offices are instructed to alert all sources and informants for any information regarding the possible formation of the committee mentioned above.

Any information concerning the formation of this committee is to be furnished to the Bureau without delay. Sufficient copies of correspondence should be submitted to the Bureau to allow copies to be placed in the Bufiles concerning the AFSC and SP.

Hoover

231

T

SAC, New York [REDACTED] (Orig & 1)

12-19-56

[REDACTED]  
Director, FBI

[REDACTED]  
AMER. FRIENDS COMM.  
[REDACTED]

ReNYairtel 12-14-56.

It appears subject organization refers to American Friends Committee which may be affiliated with the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). If discreet inquiry indicates subject organization is a legitimate religious organization, the Bureau should be advised and no further action should be taken.

231X



## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] DATE: 1/6/57  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]  
SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
[REDACTED]

Rebuairtel, 12/6/56. Re Chicago air-tel to the Bureau, 12/11/56; reNYairtel, 12/13/56 and reNYlet to the Bureau, 11/28/56, captioned "In Friendship; [REDACTED]."

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that the National Office of the Young Socialist League (YSL) is planning to form a committee to start a drive on civil rights on a national basis. According to the informant, the committee is to involve the American Friends Service Committee, the Socialist Party and any other organization available to participate. The committee is to be controlled by the YSL and is intended to show student solidarity with the Negro struggle. The purpose of the committee, according to the informant, is to raise money and donate it to causes such as the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. The campaign was scheduled for early December.

NR 1/8/57

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY [REDACTED]

By air-tel dated 12/6/56, the Bureau advised NY and pertinent offices that information concerning this committee should be furnished to the Bureau without delay with sufficient copies to allow the information to be placed in Bureau files relating to the American Friends Service Committee and the Socialist Party.

On December 10, 1956, [REDACTED] advised that the "Enroll for Freedom" committee was being formed by the YSL in NY and it was hoped that a nation-wide campaign would develop. The informant advised that all YSL units were being instructed to set up working committees in their areas. The aim of the campaign is to get 5,000 signature on a petition relating to civil rights. Each person signing the petition is to donate at least \$.25 and get a campaign button. The petition is to be presented to President EISENHOWER on Lincoln's birthday.

Other information developed in connection with this campaign indicates that this campaign is not solely a YSL activity and further that a separate organization was formed, which organization is identified as the sponsor of the "Enroll for Freedom Campaign." In this connection, the 3/25/56, issue of "The Worker" (page six, column three) contained an article entitled "'In Friendship' Rallies Assistance to Negro Victims of Dixie Squeeze." This article reflects that "In Friendship" had recently been formed by representatives of 75 NY churches, unions, fraternal societies, etc. Among the organizations represented at the organizing meeting of "In Friendship" were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and etc.

As set forth in re NY air-tel of 12/13/56, the 12/10/56 issue of "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page five of "Labor Action", noted that the National Action Committee of the YSL had announced its support of the Enroll for Freedom Campaign, which was to be under the auspices of "In Friendship", 122 E. 57th St., NYC, a new organization set up "to provide economic relief for victims of the racist terror in the South."

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY [REDACTED]

The NYO will follow and report activities of the YSL as they relate to the "Enroll for Freedom" campaign and information will be furnished to the Bureau without delay. Offices receiving a copy of this matter are requested to follow closely the YSL activities relating to the "Enroll for Freedom" committees in their territories and report pertinent information expeditiously to the Bureau and NY.

F B I

Date: 1/17/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

CHANGED

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Re NY airtel to the Bureau, 12/14/56,  
captioned, "AMER. FRIENDS COMM."

Title changed reflects complete name  
as obtained below. New York telephone directory  
reflects listings American Friends Service Committee,  
office, telephone number GR 3-2928, United Nations  
Program, 345 E. 46th St., telephone number MU 2-2745.  
NY indices (NY [REDACTED], captioned, "COMMUNIST  
INFILTRATION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE")  
reflects organization was formed by the Society of  
Friends (Quakers). In accordance with Bulet NY,  
12/19/56, NY will conduct no further investigation.  
Instant case is, therefore, being closed.

232

DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

January 23, 1957

SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED]

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE  
[REDACTED]

OO: New York

Re Bureau airtel, 12/6/56, instructing that the Bureau be furnished information concerning "In Friendship," with sufficient copies for the Bureau files on the American Friend's Service Committee and the Socialist Party.

On January 17, 1957, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past [REDACTED] furnished SA [REDACTED] with a copy of the petition being circulated in Los Angeles by the YSL in furtherance of the activity designated as "Enroll for Freedom"; informant orally advised SA OAKES on January 17, 1957, that this activity is sponsored by a group or committee known as "In Friendship," headquartered in New York City, one of the chief sponsors of which is the YSL.

The copy of the petition furnished by informant is filed as L.A. [REDACTED]

Attached hereto for information are photostatic copies of this petition for the Bureau and New York.

232 unrec

# WE ENROLL FOR FREEDOM

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

1964

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] DATE: 1/30/57  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
(OO: Philadelphia)

Re Bureau form O-1, 1/22/57.

A review of material received at this office since report of SA [REDACTED] 7/17/56, in the captioned matter discloses that insufficient information is being received at the present time to warrant maintaining the matter in an open status. Accordingly, it is the intention of this office to submit an RUC report in the case. However, a [REDACTED] Source at Binghamton, NY, advised concerning a discussion at a Triple Cities Peace Council Steering Committee meeting which indicated that the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) at Philadelphia does not admit Communists to membership, but that NYC does. Recontact with the [REDACTED] has disclosed that he believes the discussion referred to the admission of Communists by the "New York State Peace Council at New York City." By separate communication this office is requesting the Albany Office to recontact the [REDACTED] Source for additional information as to identity of the above group and connections it may have with the AFSC. Upon receipt of the instant information, a report will be prepared in this matter.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI [REDACTED]

DATE: 2/7/57

FROM : SAC, Philadelphia [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE  
COMMITTEE  
[REDACTED]

(OO - Philadelphia)

Rerep of SA [REDACTED] at Philadelphia, 11/18/55.  
 Rerep of SA [REDACTED], at New York, 7/17/56.  
 Philadelphia letter dated 7/25/56.

As a result of rerep of SA [REDACTED], the Philadelphia Division reopened its case file in instant matter placing it in a pending inactive status to follow the activities of this organization for indication of CP infiltration. Since that time, no information has been received indicating that the National organization has been infiltrated by the CP or that the CP has made any attempts to infiltrate the organization.

The file has been reviewed and it was determined that the criteria as set out in SAC Letter [REDACTED] for investigation of Communist infiltration into legitimate non-Communist organizations has not been met insofar as pertains to the national organization.

There are 13 regional offices of the American Friends Service Committee throughout the United States. According to Confidential Informant [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is familiar with the policy of the national American Friends Service Committee, these regional offices are more or less autonomous in that they are left free to manage their own affairs on a local level. The national organization rules on policy matters, however, does not guide the major offices on matters of local policy insofar as membership is concerned. Inasmuch as there is no evidence of Communist infiltration of the American Friends Service Committee on a national level, this case is being placed in a closed status. It is suggested that in the event there is any further evidence of CP infiltration of any of the regional offices of AFSC, that the Field Division covering the location of the regional office be considered as Office of

234



RE [REDACTED]

Origin and that the title be carried as "COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE - FIELD DIVISION."

If any information is received concerning the national organization which warrants an investigation as outlined in SAC Letter [REDACTED], the Bureau will be immediately advised.

F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C.

110  
Dear Sir:  
AMERICAN FRIENDS  
SERVICE COMMITTEE

During the past several years, I have been making small contributions to an organization which I believe to be one hundred percent American, devoting its efforts to peace, and many other worthy causes. I believe that this organization has been and is completely free of ~~any~~ 1938 or Communist influences. However, some friends of mine, and others, have taken an opposite view, not of the time in a joking sort of way, but only, but enough to make me want to be positively sure that I will never support anyone or anything that could possibly be labeled ~~un-American~~ 1939. I am so completely ~~sure~~ 1940 on this organization that I feel guilty about even making an inquiry about it. I will greatly appreciate your opinion (which I intend to show to others) on the American Friends Service Committee, 20 So. 12th St. Philadelphia, Pa. This is the organization which I have been referring to. Thanking you for whatever information you can give me. I am, sincerely,  
your obedient servant

March 15, 1957

Dear

Your letter dated March 9, 1957, has been received and the interest prompting your communication is appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance in connection with your inquiry, I must advise that in accordance with a Departmental regulation, data contained in the files of this Bureau is maintained as confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the necessity for this regulation and no inference will be drawn because of my inability to be of assistance that we do or do not have in our files the information you have requested.

Furthermore, for your information, the FBI as a fact-gathering agency does not issue evaluations or clearances of organizations, individuals or publications.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

235

[REDACTED]

NOTE SAC, PHILADELPHIA:

Bufiles negative re correspondent.

Correspondent requests information re American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. AFSC is subject your designated file number. According to Philadelphia letter 2/7/57, the national organization of AFSC does not meet the criteria for investigation of cominfil into legitimate noncommunist organizations.

[REDACTED]

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]  
 SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
 AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE  
 COMMITTEE - NEW YORK DIVISION  
 [REDACTED]

DATE: 3/26/57

Re NY report of SA [REDACTED]  
 7/17/56; NY letter, 1/30/57; and Philadelphia  
 letter, 2/7/57.

Reference NY letter indicated the intention of this office to submit an RUC report in the captioned case. However, from a review of material reported to this office regarding the subject organization, summarized below, it does not appear that sufficient information is available at this time to bring this matter within the categories contemplated by the provisions of SAC letter [REDACTED]. It is further noted that Philadelphia is apparently no longer to be considered origin in this case. m

A [REDACTED] source of the Albany Office, [REDACTED] of Binghamton, NY, on 6/8/56, reported concerning a discussion which took place at a Steering Committee meeting of the Triple Cities Peace Council at Binghamton, NY. The point in question was the proper procedure to be followed in handling the problem presented by the fact that [REDACTED] had signed a card indicating interest in joining the Triple Cities Peace Council or being placed on the mailing list. [REDACTED]

One of the participants in the discussion stated [REDACTED] had identified himself to her as a CP member, and that a directive had been received from [REDACTED] (AFSC official) to tell [REDACTED] that neither the Triple Cities Peace Council nor the American Friends Service Committee admits Communists to membership. Apparently there was

237

NY [REDACTED]

some further discussion between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on 1/10/56 as a CP member) to the effect that Philadelphia does not allow Communists into their organization; but that NYC does allow them. [REDACTED] upon recontact has stated that in his opinion and belief [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were talking about the Philadelphia and NYC offices of the American Friends Service Committee, though apparently neither [REDACTED] nor [REDACTED] so stated.

Apparently this refers to the CP campaign to promote the introduction of legislation designed to repeal the Smith Act.

It would not appear that the foregoing fulfills the requirements of SAC letter [REDACTED] for active investigation of legitimate non-Communist

NY [REDACTED]

organizations. Accordingly, this office is placing the matter in a closed status, subject to reopening upon receipt of information indicating that conditions exist which would be within the provisions of the previously mentioned SAC letter.

May 7, 1957

Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

A daughter of a client of ours is interested in an appointment with the American Friends Service Committee as a peace education agent whose duties ~~would be~~ to encourage peace education groups on college campuses throughout the country. Her father has inquired of us as to whether or not the American Friends Service Committee might possibly be a subversive organization.

Can you advise us whether or not it is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Your prompt reply will be appreciated and will be treated as confidential if requested.

Very truly yours,

238



Dear

Your letter dated May 7, 1957, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, I believe that you would like to know that you can secure a copy of the list of organizations which have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450 by directing a request to the Subversive Organizations Section, Internal Security Division, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. I hope that this information will be of aid.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: The American Friends Service Committee has not been cited.